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CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE DECEMBER 4, 1989 VOL. 102 NO. 49

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COVER PHOTO BY NICHOLAS DODD

COVER

PRAGUE'S AUTUMN REVOLT

In Prague's Wenceslas Square, focus of Czechoslovakia's protest movement, the crowds cheered wildly when party boss Milos Jakes and the entire 11-man Communist party presidium stepped down. After 21 years, the spell that had hung over Czechoslovakia since the Soviet-led invasion of 1968 imposed a hard-line, neo-Stalinist regime, had finally been broken. — 38



SPECIAL REPORT

FIGHTING IN THE STREETS

In a dramatic show of force, left-wing rebels fighting El Salvador's rightist government attacked an exclusive hotel. And human rights observers alleged that the military responded to rebel attacks by indiscriminately burning poor neighbourhoods and arresting and torturing government critics. — 42



CANADA

DOWN TO THE WIRE

The race to lead the NDP in the 1990s comes down to the wire, with up to half of the delegates to this week's convention in Winnipeg undecided about which candidate to support. But the front-runners are businessman former B.C. premier David Barrett and Tulon neophyte Audrey McLaughlin. — 14



Cover photo: Peter Lee; all other photos: AP/Wide World



The Death Of Stalinism

Last week, as the shock waves from the opening of the Berlin Wall began to subside, the flames of revolution raging through Eastern Europe lit up to even greater heights. The resignation of Czechoslovakian leader Milos Jakes and the entire two-line Politburo was the most dramatic upset in a series of radical changes throughout what once was the Soviet Bloc. And the resignation of leader Gorbachev, leader Alexander D. Gorbachev, who was overthrown by Soviet forces when he introduced the reformist Prague Spring in 1968, winning victory over a crowd in Wenceslas Square was unsurpassed even in months earlier. Never in world history has a major regime collapsed more rapidly than the Soviet imperial reign in Europe.

The seismic events of 1989 are unprecedented in the magnitude of their effect on global politics. In less than 30 months, the force of popular demand—supported, even encouraged by President Mikhail Gorbachev in the Kremlin—has led to the overthrow or change of Communist governments in Poland, Hungary, East Germany and now Czechoslovakia. After the events in Prague, it seemed evident, in fact, inevitably, to Socialist communists dead! And to answer with astonishment, Marx!

The lesson from Eastern Europe seemed to be that, in an age of mass communications it is nearly impossible for any government to resist a genuine popular cry for change. Now that public demonstrations for reforms are widely broadcast around the world and back to their sources, no government can be complacent, no amount of physical force can be counted as it is in Eastern Europe.

That is at least as relevant in the West as it is in Eastern Europe. Said European Bureau Chief Andrew Phillips from Prague: "When I visited the capital last year, people seemed sad. But now, you can see the new political atmosphere in their faces—they are happy and smiling."



Phillips: "Last year people seemed sad, now they are happy and smiling again."

Karen Doyle

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- ✗ **UI cutbacks.** 810,000 Canadians to lose benefits.
- ✗ **9% tax.** 75,000 jobs will be gone.
- ✗ **The trade deal.** 60,000 jobs already lost.
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BACK-DOOR MANOEUVRES

These cheers for Newfoundland Premier Clyde Wells and a proper billing grade to Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and Ontario Premier David Peterson ("Stepping back from the brink," Special Report Nov. 20). What is the assessment of Quebec going to split? Is it split out of the Constitution in 1982? Why are those who disagree with the Meech Lake accord now accused of disloyalty? What a beautiful province Quebec is, from its people and the beauty of the land itself to the language, which is second to none. Premier René Lévesque was lastingly hurt in taking Quebec out of Confederation but he failed. Why would we violate the back-door manoeuvres of those who sold faith to the misunderstanding that Quebec as a whole is the special child of Confederation and not as equal and a more valued part?

Jim D. McLeod,
Ottawa

A GRAVE OMISSION

Well, The 1980s: Mulroney's Canadian the Canadians are back I will not have to say ("The lonely sound of one drum beating," Column, Nov. 6). A book on the wisdom of the decade, without Peterborough's Kelen was. When Mulroney arrives, everything happened I read the Path Stone, where,

Elizabeth Murray,
Trent MS

ECOLOGICAL HOLOCAUST

In "The dammed fight" (Environment, Nov. 13), about the pulp mill planned near First Nation on the Athabasca River by Alberta Pacific Forest Industries Inc., editor-in-chief, leader Elizabeth May is quoted as saying Japanese companies have already committed an "ecological holocaust" in the forests of Asia countries. One need not travel to Asia to witness the plunder. If anyone wants a picture of what has already for the world's forests, examine they should come to the EBC Valley in southern British Columbia. We will gladly provide guided tours of deforestation in progress. The spectacular wonders of our area are being quickly destroyed by the same kind of forces that put together the Alberta Pacific package.

David Kovacs
Prince BC

FIGHTING FOR SOLUTIONS

I understand what you propose is to use the term "crusade" for a man who has been breaking the laws of our land to make his point ("A crusader's challenge," Canada,



Peterson: 'a proper billing grade'

Nov. 6). Our democratic traditions could crumble if other dedicated activists take that course of action to change laws they feel are wrong. Henry Morgenthau's actions have produced a vacuum in Canadian abolition legislation. Perhaps the fight in Nova Scotia will at last bring some healing to that troubled land.

Dr. John Wark
Peterborough, Ont.

WAYS AND MEANS

Nowhere in "Destroying the middle class" (Special Report, Nov. 6) is there a suggestion that the government should do what it expects Canadians to do—live within their means. The government should police the deficit not by increasing or imposing new taxes, but by enforcing its expenses.

Laurie Whitworth,
Newwest

WEARING POLICE SHOES

Regarding your coverage of the tragic death of Loup, Kenneth Downes of the Winnipeg police force ("A final act of respect," Canada, Nov. 13). Sadly, I have to agree with his statement that the media are largely responsible for much of the negative light in which police forces of this country are held. If anyone of us had tools for even a night what they have to do and contend with during their working life, we would not be in this line of work. They are exposed to situations we can only imagine. If those who are so quick to condemn could with us their shoes, then perhaps there would be a change in attitude.

Conner McEwen,
Victoria

PASSAGES

REMOVED: David In Nanapan, 54, is director of the Para Open Ballet after a highly publicized 14-month feud with Pierre Berger, president of the Ballet de Opera, over the withdrawal of Nanapan's financial assistance from Para. Nanapan returned the company into one of the world's great dance troupes after he took over in 1983. Now an O.S. tour with The King and I, the dancer said that he will remain as the company's general choreographer. Last year, Berger was accused in several sensational police reports that he was sexually involved with conductor Donald Barakade, whom he fired as director of the Para Opera because of his alleged strict sexual tastes and high demands.



EXPULSED: Patricia Skerry, 42, who helped seal estate developers provide money to politicians—particularly members of Ontario's governing Liberal party—through the National Council of Jewish Women (Toronto section) charity organization that she headed, from the National Council, by the organization's board of directors for allegedly violating the charity's bylaw that prohibits members from endorsing political parties or candidates. Skerry's activities are now part of a provincial investigation into the charity's approximately \$30,000 worth of questionable political donations.

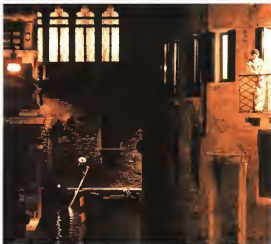
DEED: Celebrated California earthquake survivor Buck Ricks, 34, who became a worldwide symbol of hope after he miraculously endured 28 quaking hours

trapped and crushed under the rubble of the destroyed double-deck Napa State Prison in Oakland, Calif., broke

DEED: Acclaimed Canadian historian Col. Charles Perry Sharpe, 83, author of the three-volume official record of the Canadian Army in the Second World War and the 1975 best-seller A Very Good Left: The Private World of Macdonald King, of cardiac arrest in his Toronto home.

DEED: American cartoonist Charles Beck, 78, creator of the satirical magazine Captain Marvel, who, when introduced in 1943, led a very good left, after a long illness, in hospital near his Gainesville, Fla., home.

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LETTERS

ABOLISH THE SENATE

The Special Report ("By popular demand," Oct. 30) provides clear reasons for abolishing the Senate as it currently stands. The historic absolutism and partisan obsequiousness to delay important legislation, because the majority of Senate appointees are of a different political stripe than the current government, are ludicrous and absurd. Let's save Canadian taxpayers a large expense

and place full control and responsibility for governing this country back with the people through their elected parliamentary representatives.

William Whelan
St. John's, Nfld.

POLITICAL MOTIVES

I live in a community where both official languages are valued, but I am angry that parents are using their children's opportunity to learn another language as a political statement ("The return to two solitaires," Corrie,

Nov. 6) What price do our children pay for our fears, our ignorance, our folly?

James Cameron,
St. Boniface, Man.

In response to James Stokewicz, who pulled his children out of French classes to protest the sign law in Quebec, I wonder—will he also pull them out of physics classes because physicians invented the nuclear bomb? His irresponsibility as to protecting his children from enjoying a great opportunity to learn a second language. Monique Laplante, Cornwall, Ont.

"NO OTHER CHOICE"

Pierre Trudeau's vision of Canada ignores the actual social reality of this country. Quebec is a distinct, French-speaking society—and this is the reality. English Canada must accept the Mirabeau Lake accord or, nothing less will be acceptable to Quebecers. Otherwise, Quebec will have no other choice but to achieve her independence.

Jocelyn Ouellet
St-Foy, Que.

THEIR WAY

While Frank Sinatra undoubtedly made the song "My Way" popular in North America ("The Sinatra Doctrine," World, Nov. 6), he followed Paul Anka, who got it from Georges Mithouard by Jacques Bessac, Charles François and Gilles Thibault in France. It became popular there largely in Mirabeau Mathieu's version.

Clifford E. Ferry,
Pellisier, Ont.

THE TRUTH HURTS

If everyone would stop making deals of ordinary men and expecting perfection from them ("Small changes and Martin Luther King," An American View, Nov. 6), there would be a whole lot less disappointment in the world.

Louise Schkaret,
Charlton, Ont.

PROMOTING SEPARATISM

It is possible that the appointment of a well-known English-speaking Governor General ("The Queen's man," Canada, Oct. 16) may be a masterstroke plot to denigrate the official role, voluntarily, promote the separation of Quebec from the rest of Canada!

T. Gordon Reed,
Vancouver

Letters are edited and may be condensed. Writers should include name, address and telephone number. Mailroom address is: Letters to the Editor/Montreal or magazine, Montreal Mirror/Edg. 777 St. St. Toronto, Ont. M5P 1A7.

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OPENING NOTES

Clyde Wells turns the tables, Christine Stewart helps to save a life, and Tanner Elton takes to the stage

GRANTING REVENGE

When he campaigned last April in his successful bid to drive the Progressive Conservative party from power, Newfoundland Liberal party leader Clyde Wells pledged to show "fairness and balance" in awarding grant money across the province. Indeed, as recently as 1987, angry Liberals complained that the Tories had given 84 per cent of so-called recreation capital grants—used to build and maintain sports facilities—to conservatives in Conservative ridings. The Tories did as despite the fact that they held only 67 per cent of the province's ridings. But last week, the Liberals agreed to have turned the tables. Municipal Affairs Minister Eric Goggin announced that he will award only \$60,000 out of a total of \$610,000 in recreation capital grants to districts represented by Tories—despite the fact that the Conservatives held 40 per cent of the ridings. Bold opposition leader Ian Lancaster blurted: "The term 'fairness and balance' seems to have been replaced by 'revenge on the Tories.'" Carrying favor is a game that two can play.

Wells: a promise of "fairness and balance"



Tuning in to check the time

As P.S. pay TV networks assemble their broadcasting agendas, thus preventing owners of satellite dishes from tuning in for free to their programs, unaccompanied Canadian channels are becoming popular with some American viewers. Among these Toronto-based MacMillan, which provides a similar service to New York City-based MTV. And satellite industry spokesman Harold Thibodeau said that many viewers also tune in to CBC's parliamentary channel—but not when the House is sitting. He added, "People are not watching by the time signal but by the time Parliament is not." Some folks have no time for politics.



Answerly (left), Stewart, looking up the crowd and saving a life

A LIBERAL DOSE OF MEDICINE

When she agreed to attend a Liberal party fund-raising dinner in Newcastle, Ont., earlier this month, MP Christine Stewart said that she wanted fellow Liberal Lloyd Axworthy to take notes. But although Axworthy turned up the evening with a pattern 30-minute speech, Stewart delivered the showstopper—she helped to save a life. Recalled Stewart: "We had just begun dinner, when I saw a man slump over his table. I and to assist, 'He used medical training.' Then, I noticed, I am medical

nurse." Indeed, Stewart is a 1983 University of Toronto School of Nursing graduate. And although she has not practiced since 1977, she recognized the symptoms of a heart attack and administered first aid and as ambulance arrived. Stewart said that her patient, Ernest Kohn of Oshawa, Ont., phoned last week to thank her. Added Stewart: "He couldn't really remember me—but he said about what happened in the local newspaper." A politician has to take local spectators she can find them.

CASTING THE REAL THING IN COURT

It will be a choice for 12 lawyers to take a fancy and for a Winnipeg audience to get a taste of high conflict. Next April, the Manitoba Theatre Centre is to stage a unique version of the play *Twelve Angry Men*—each of the characters will be played by a Winnipeg lawyer. In casting the piece, which tells the story of a lone juror convinced of the innocence of an accused murderer, artistic director Steven Schipper said that he had eight lawyers who exhibited the personality traits of the play's characters. Indeed, at least one of these cast acknowledged that he had a clear affinity with his stage persona. Said Schipper's deputy entertainment minister, Tanner Elton: "I probably got cast because I resemble a slightly overweight, middle-aged person who talks too much."



Paving the way for arctic intrigue

It is not admitted to poll of the production for last 1990, but by the time the first Severn straits submarine is launched, U.S. officials hope to have completed preparations for testing what may military experts have described as the most sophisticated—and sensitive—submarine ever created. Indeed, a highly placed U.S. congressional source told Maclean's that Pentagon officials have been sounding out Canadian authorities for permis-

U.S. role in the North corridor
sion to try out the submarine in Canada's Arctic waters—which could provide the degree of silence required for such testing. For their part, officials at the department of external affairs, who acknowledge that the Pentagon would need to approach them first, have denied receiving any such request. After all, a secret is a secret.

PEACETIME MANOEUVRES

They are the proverbial military rhetoricians, standing at chalkboards and plotting the minutiae of warlike manoeuvres. But military analysts at the Pentagon have been judged by their superiors to be decidedly lacking in field experience. As a result, the analysts are being sent onto the battlefields—of the 1981-1985 American Civil War. Pentagon official Walter Lang described the exercise as the only way to give defence analysts "a true sense of terrain, weather and fatigue." In peacetime, rehearsing realities can be an uphill battle.

A continuing mystery in the belfry

When they gathered for services in May 19, the parishioners of the Protestant United Church in Malpas, P.E.I., noticed an eerie silence. The reason, the church's history, 200th anniversary was missing. That disappearance was only the latest mystery in the bell's controversial past. According to local historians, King Louis XV of France sent the bell—one of four—as a gift in 1755 to island Acadians. But others, including United Church trustee Lloyd Lockyer, claim that the bell came from a wrecked British sailing ship. And last week, the bell's saga continued when officials at The Acadia Museum in nearby Margaree notified acacia officials that the bell had mysteriously turned up on their doorstep. By

world's end, RCMP officers had returned the bell to the church. In Malpas, at least, historians knew not for whom the bell tolled.



Malpas bell controversy and an eerie silence

The sins of the city

Remember Mayor Gordon Campbell's claim that when he granted an interview to a reporter from the Atlantic-based



Campbell: 'slimy'

Pix TV network last August, he was assured that the program would depict his city as "Hollywood North." But when the show aired two weeks ago—as part of a series titled *The Sinningest Cities in North America*—its hosts focused on Campbell's strip clubs and prostitution. Said Campbell: "It was slimy indeed." Every audience has its message.

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AN AMERICAN VIEW



Forgive us if we feel like gloating

BY FRED BARTING

The decade is ending in superlative fashion, what, with the Berlin Wall now fondly as a garden gate and Solidarity taking charge in Poland and even hard liners in Czechoslovakia already choosing early retirement at the behest of a rehabilitation industry. Gorbachev has landed larger than any other thought possible, and who knows what the Soviet Union will pull next from its well-tanned sleeve? The Chinese are a bust, but, as fans of the Brooklyn Dodgers declared after a very season of heartbreak, not till next year.

A sense of triumph prevails in the free world and perhaps nowhere more strongly than in the United States where, indeed, we are apt to view most everything—international affairs included—as a contest to be settled as a sold-out stadium, the crowd gone wild, the God-year bang droning overhead. To forgive as thus if we gloat as the results are announced. The East-West classic is over, and our side prevailed. Commemorative T-shirts available at all concession stands.

American politicians are sure to claim credit for the swift and extraordinary success of Marxism, and already we are being instructed that current developments never would have occurred if not for the visionary leadership of what Who, of Ronald Reagan? "I really believe that history will record that you, more than any individual, helped stimulate the changes that are taking place all around the world today—changes for the democracy that you spoke about over and over again," said George Bush recently in tribute to his predecessor.

So there we have it, as far as the President is concerned. More than Luch Wlodek and Soviet revolutionaries and the people of East Germany and the students in Tiananmen Square—more than any of those, Ronald Reagan is the spine by which so much has happened so quickly. Talk tough, find the popular frenzy, dismiss the opposition in ads and cartoons, out of the fog.

And dining is a party with Kennedy in New York

*The East-West classic
is over, and our side
prevailed. Commemo-
rative T-shirts
available at all
concession stands*

erist, the most connected deity, say good night and God bless to the television audience, repair to the locker room and await the trophy. Henry of a game plan, say!

Others will read the signs differently—that is, they will say Communist orthodoxy failed of its own insupportable weight and that history need of no help; thank you, from the rusty leech Gipper, or the Gipper's wife, or his wife's mistress, or the North, or any of the odd lot that held forth in the White House—or basement of the White House—like ready a devotee. They may say, too, that rhetoric misapprehended reason during the Reagan years and that our country, and others, will suffer with the results for some time.

What better example than Nicaragua? For innumerable reasons, that woe-begone nation disturbed Reagan's chamber state, and while the President has retired from public service, his Latin obsession endures. Remember, now, the general scenario was that the Sandinistas would rise through Central America and into Mexico's orbit, using their wiles and guilelessness along Interstate-55, proceed directly to Georgetown for an attack on the ruling class just as disaster was averted.

So it is understandable that when Bush

Ortega associated that he no longer would deserve a respite with visas refused, the American might wing let out a groan mighty enough to have pattered pavements in Moscow. The Nicaraguan president and contra forces had left issues a Russian and began terrorizing the countryside again. He led the United States had failed to proceed with demobilization of the rebel army and arrested, foolish man, that if insurgents were going to shoot at people, he would have to shoot back. Ortega a resolute to critics were not persuaded it was just that informal exercise again and more of his wicked tricks.

George Bush, who says he favors a critical approach to government, who exalts the Kiss and Gorbachev, and who peers into the void and sees before him not darkness, at all, but a Latin-lens board with the acreage of infinity—George Bush could barely contain himself in the face of Ortega's outrageous insolence. The Nicaraguan leader, said Bush, was like an "animal at a garden party" and had better watch out lest he be taken by the tail and tossed over the water wall.

The U.S. President went on to suggest that, in view of Ortega's unending refusal to renounce a barbaric violence and after the century has been, we might have to bring the contras to full speed again—words that echo perfectly in the arctic cavern of conservatism, perhaps, but must make the poor souls in the outbreak of Nicaragua pay for delinquency. They knew that contras' victims are more often our school and clinics than the Sandinista army—such is the nature of what our Portuguese people call "low intensity" warfare.

The sub of it all is that recent events—those more stunning developments that have us cheering like teenagers—are revealing the administration's Latin America strategy is inept and badly applied. If Ortega still favors a strict Marxist solution, he is among the last on earth to afford. Dignified state socialism has no more future than a head-cracked Victoria. Our best bet is Nicaragua, and throughout Central America, to provide aid, not loans, and for once exercise a little patience. Dornier's is already selling guns in Honduras. Can Nicaragua be for behind?

For the moment, though, the news hardly is promising. No sooner has Ortega capitulated to American demands than he has again permitted opened a major offensive on El Salvador. The mother is of particular interest to Americans, since we have contributed \$4 billion during the last decade, despite a record of murder and torture that makes El Salvador's President Reagan seem a Red Cross volunteer.

Among the victims on one were six Jewish priests—condemned dangerous by the right for their work among the poor—and a humanitarian and his 15-year-old daughter; unfortunate enough to have been on duty when the killers were evading. Such administration officials demanded the use of force and demanded action. But U.S. foreign banks pouring into El Salvador, and so on in the White House is suggesting it should say. Going upon those thousand points of light, it is perhaps difficult to notice when a few suddenly are extinguished.

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Cover date: December 25, 1988. Available the week of December 18, 1989.

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THE WELL-INFORMED CHOICE.

Challenge seeker

A neophyte campaigns for the NDP leadership



Audrey McLaughlin has spent a lifetime exploring unfamiliar territory. A decade ago, weary of Toronto and its smoggy winters, she headed a collection of African arts and a pickup truck and, with her two children, drove north to the Yukon to find a new home, in Whitehorse. This weekend, with less than three years of experience on the national stage, McLaughlin is going her way through a jungle of a different sort on a trail that she hopes will lead her to the top of the New Democratic Party. Among the remaining obstacles: defections from party critics that she is a political neophyte and skepticism about her capabilities from the leaders of the powerful labor unions that helped found the troubled party. "There are similarities between the size and the challenges of some of the things I have done in the past," McLaughlin told *Maclean's* last week. "Challenges have never stopped me."

For once, however, the 53-year-old McLaughlin may have tackled a bigger chal-



McLaughlin shatters self-reliance

enge this she can handle. Bolstered by a widespread desire within her ranks to be the first national party to elect a female leader, McLaughlin was declared a front-runner in a lukewarm field virtually from the moment last May when she announced her intention to succeed reform party leader Ed Broadbent. But, were then, McLaughlin has provided criticism that she is reaching too far, too soon. Even committed supporters have voiced skepticism at her vague stands on crucial issues. Other detractors have expressed concerns over her shyness self-reliance—highlighted last week when she appeared at an Ontario Federation of Labour conference in Toronto accompanied by an aide and carrying a cardboard box of pamphlets under her arm.

Her cautiousness, decision-making style shaped in part by her training as a social worker, may make it difficult for her to give direction to a party divided over what course it should follow in the 1990s. And Clifford Scott, senior minister for nearly four decades and former federal secretary, "Audrey's background is mutually and refreshingly letting us see that we're not sure she's real at all the books."

As well, the large, Ontario-based labor union branch that could provide up to 600 of the 2,000 delegates to the Winnipeg convention this week have been reluctant to endorse a socialist candidate who acknowledges that she has difficulty understanding their points of view in, as she puts it, "tracking their voices." Although leaders of the 163,000-member United Steelworkers of America, one of the largest unions affiliated with the NDP, at first supported McLaughlin's candidacy, they withdrew their endorsement after she appeared at a September all-candidates session in Toronto. "She was a disappointment," said one senior union organizer. Added Nancy Rich, executive vice-president of the Canadian Labour Congress (CLC): "I like Audrey, but this is not a socialist society that needs a social middle-class living room."

But her committed supporters say McLaughlin's somewhat quiet record of accomplishments will help her at her political career. As only child who was born and raised near Whitehorse, Ont., McLaughlin raised a son, David, and daughter, Tracy, while running a duck farm in partnership with her husband in Wingham, Ont., 80 km northwest of Kitchener, and earning a bachelor of arts degree by correspondence—all while still in her 30s. In the 1960s, the family moved to the Wind African country of Ghana, where McLaughlin taught English for three years. Upon the family's return to Canada, she pursued a postgraduate degree in social work and later worked at the Metro Toronto Children's Aid Society. "She has a lot of life experience," said Carol Phillips of Toronto, assistant to Robert White, president of the Canadian Arts Relations. Phillips is one of the few labor activists to endorse McLaughlin on labor issues.

During the 1980s, McLaughlin also began to develop ties with the New Democratic Party, working on the fringe of colleagues in Ontario. By 1978, she was a delegate at the leadership

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CANADA

convention in Winnipeg that elected Broadbent. But it wasn't until her 1979 move to the Yukon that her involvement with the movement became a full-time job. In Whitehorse, she established herself as a vocal policy consultant to Aboriginal and women's groups, and her political profile rose steadily. In the territorial elections of 1982 and 1985, she managed the successful campaigns of former Yukon justice minister Reginald Kermesley. Then, in 1987, she was a federal by-election in the Yukon riding that had been held for almost 30 years by Conservative Rick McIvor. Brian Mulroney's former deputy prime minister, Mulroney, who dismissed her victory as a protest vote against the Tories, was stunned when she returned to Ottawa after last November's federal election with a 3,000-vote margin, the only one of three NDP MPs elected in by-elections in 1987 to hold her seat. Her next move was election to the position of caucus chairman two months later.

Indeed, for some Mulroney supporters, her freshness is part of her attraction. A spokeswoman of the 43-year-old and three former MPs have publicly suggested her campaign, among them Patricia Blais of Kamloops, B.C. and Allan "A lot of leaders in the party are uncomfortable that they don't know Audrey McLaughlin. But Audrey is believable to us, absolutely on one." And the interviewers' Phillips, he says, she has no doubts about McLaughlin's toughness. "I don't think she's a real fighter."

But some chatter-boxes complain that McLaughlin has staked out a strong position on only one issue: she opposes the March 1990 accord on the grounds that it excludes women, native people and the North. The combination of her personal acuity and her status as a parliamentary newcomer allowed her to look party leaders—most Broadbent's performance—to vote against the accord in the parliamentary vote to endorse the agreement. And she was instrumental in supporting a resolution calling for the reversal of her support, which will be debated at the convention in Friday. But, in her speeches, McLaughlin has been on security-related issues for social issues rather than specific policies. And she is unapologetic about her inexperience, content to say that her leadership would signal "a change in politics, and a place in the system for people who have been marginalized in society."

Still, the Yukon MP is aware that her gender and her brief experience may likely to prove the key factors in determining whether her freshman status translates into victory on Dec. 2. "I don't think I'll be around," she says. "I'll be around, it's time for a woman." After I announced, it was "What the hell does she think she's doing? She doesn't have any experience." Many openly critical delegates clearly seemed unconvinced last week that life experience makes up for the political inexperience. But, noted the CMC's Riecke, who was still undecided about whom to support. "If Audrey survives all this criticism she will make a good leader."

By KARE FLECKEN with MARK CLARK
in Ottawa

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The sound and the fury

David Barrett adds zest to a staid contest



His late entry into the leadership race brought a jolt of energy and controversy to an otherwise unremarkable contest. But the characteristics that disengaged David Barrett from his lesser-known opponents are also potentially his greatest obstacles to winning the leadership of the New Democratic Party in Dec. 9. As British Columbia's 50th leader from 1969 to 1983—including three years as premier—Barrett earned a reputation as a bright but brash politician. And his short-lived hip style—he once dined at former Vancouver Jack Robinson Maytag Nichols that she was "T-ing stupid!"—earned him no many enemies as it did admirers. Barrett, 56, has now attempted to re-strive his threatened approach to politics since being elected as an MP from Vancouver-Japan in last year's election. "What you see is what you get," he said in an interview during a campaign stop in Toronto last week. "My should I change now?"

It is precisely Barrett's ability to command media attention that some of his supporters in the party hope will keep the vote from slipping onto the periphery of national politics. Under his leadership, Barrett created a stir when he said that "Canada is made up of other parts besides Quebec" and invited Quebec Premier Robert Bourassa to "departure" for failing to deliver the rights of French-speaking minorities in English Canada. But Barrett's critics within the party describe him as a political insider who lacks the progressive stance on which the party built its reputation. And many of them agree that Barrett's leadership style carries political risks. Sen. Kathleen Wynne, who backs rival leader Audrey McLaughlin, "Barrett's leadership would be like a top-down white water in a kayak—it might break up at any time."

At the same time, Barrett's credibility has crystallized the NDP's internal debate over whether it should strive to be the political conscience of Canada—or aim to win power. A pragmatist rather than an ideologue, Barrett insists that, to avoid irrelevance, the party must show up at strong western fairs—such as the one of ultimately hiding the balance of power after the next federal election. "We are a political party which came from a movement," he said. "And politics is about winning power."



Barrett, a former and a pragmatist

The son of a Vancouver first dealer and a social socialist who grew up in Winnipeg's lively Jewish community, Barrett attended high school in Vancouver before completing his education at Jesus University in the United States. There, he once quipped, he learned "the value of being out a whole logical argument based on an extremely plausible premise." Equipped with a degree in social work, Barrett returned to Vancouver to work with prison inmates. But Social Credit Premier W. A. C. Bennett had him fired from that job in 1950 because of his political leanings. Co-operative Commonwealth Federation—the forerunner of the NDP—Barrett responded by running for, and winning, a seat in the B.C. legislature under the

party's socialist banner.

In 1968, after the incumbent NDP suffered a crushing defeat in a provincial election, Barrett succeeded Thomas Berger as leader—and in 1972, he led the party to its first general-election victory in the province. As leader, his personal style often did not reflect the discipline that he imposed on his own caucus, before calling his first cabinet meeting to order. Barrett lastly danced a victory jig on the cabinet table. Still, as premier, he imposed the radical excesses of the party's ideology and tried to promote small business. But his unaccompanied approach to administering the province often appeared to swing on the slender, a perception that contributed to the party's—and his personal—defeat in the 1975 election. Retained

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to the legislature in opposition leader in a by-election a year later. Barrett never indicated his membership again. In October, 1985, legislative efforts unanimously dropped him from the legislature when he refused to leave after being expelled by the acting speaker.

By then, though, Barrett had already announced his intention to resign as provincial NDP leader, saying that the party needed a change. Reaching overtures to his old ally in the 1984 general election, he instead opted for the financial security of a broadcasting and teaching career, landing a popular talk show on CBC Radio in Vancouver and, later, lecturing on political science at Harvard and McGill universities. Still, Barrett made frequent speaking tours across the country, collecting added \$25 a day as he went. And in mid-1987, with NDP an eligible, albeit unofficially—seat, wrongly—forecasting a historic electoral breakthrough for the party in the next federal election, he committed himself to seeking a federal seat.

Although Barrett and his wife, Shirley, lived in Montreal for four months during his stint at McGill, Barrett did not learn to speak French. That inability—coupled with his passionate denunciation of the March 28 constitutional accord on the day he declared his leadership attempt—provoked outrage in Quebec, where his attacks were perceived to be particularly insensitive. At a seminar on social democracy in Canada held at the French-language University of Montreal earlier this year with Parti Quebecois leader Jacques Parizeau, Barrett, speaking in English, shared many people at the audience by saying that Parizeau's economic policies—specifically his support for free trade—would "lead Quebec to be absorbed by the United States." And, he told Parizeau, "You will be lucky to have the first franchise to sell C-101 fuel in Montreal." Such blunt statements have earned Barrett the enmity of many Quebecers. But they have also won him many New Democrats—particularly in Ontario—who have commended themselves to building the party in Quebec. Said Robert West, delegate from St. Catharines, Ont.: "Sometimes I cannot believe the stupid things he says. We need someone who can speak to the whole country."

But in this week's convention approved, Barrett gave no indication of renouncing in Toronto last week to meet Ontario Federation of Labour delegates for his aid. Barrett concentrated on urging delegates to support his well-entrenched strategy for supporting poor. Said Siskind to her Christophs. Award, who is backing Barrett: "Some of us are spoiled by the prospect of Jack Chertoff winning the Liberal leadership next spring. All the media attention. But the media will not be able to ignore Dave Barrett." In Que., it delegates to the New Democrats' Winnipeg leadership convention will decide whether the ability to gain standing is enough to command the loyalty of a fractious party.

BRUCE WALLACE with MARK CLARK in Ottawa

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Politics and policing

Why did the RCMP delay raiding an MP?

Even opponents of politicians backed his 1987 appointment as commissioner of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. But last week Norman Lalor lost favour at the centre of a swirling political controversy over allegations that his 30,000-member force had colluded to the detriment of the federal Conservative government. In the Commons, Lalor and New Democrats demanded to know why the RCMP had delayed searching warrants on the offices of then-Sgt. Michael Gault and after the Nov. 23, 1988 federal election in which he was re-elected in the Montreal area riding of Chambly. And although no one suggested that Lalor acted recklessly in the case, the other aspect of the controversy about the RCMP's independence.

The 51-year-old commissioner himself apologized the outcry when he told the Commons police committee that other RCMP officers had misled him about the circumstances surround-



Lalor reviewing Montreal internal investigation

ing a police raid on Gault's offices in Ottawa and Chambly on Nov. 23, 1988. Testifying before the same committee last June, Lalor said that it was "simply coincidental" that the raids occurred one day after the election. But last

week, Lalor said that new information now indicated that Montreal-based Chief Supt. Brian McConville had instructed his subordinates to delay the raid in order to avoid influencing the outcome of the election. As it turned out, Gault pleaded guilty in May, six months after the election, to five counts of fraud and one of breach of trust. Gault, who resigned his post on May 30, was sentenced to one day in prison and three years' probation, and ordered to pay a \$20,000 fine.

For his part, McConville extended his handling of the case. His officers were ready to raid Gault's offices one week before the election, he said, but he ordered them to wait because the raids could have hurt Gault's chances of re-election if he was in fact innocent. "It was my decision," he told reporters after Lalor's testimony. "I would do it again." McConville denied that he had been subjected to political pressure by the Tories. Still, Lalor pressed an internal review of McConville's actions. That review, Lalor assured him, would determine whether anyone in the Prime Minister's Office had tried to influence the investigation.

But Lalor's assessor left the opposition parties unsettled. They demanded that the government ask senior public safety officers to the RCMP on Nov. 8, 1988, by Peter Wright, then Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's personal secretary. Lalor has acknowledged that the letter referred to Gault, but declined to reveal its contents, saying that charges against a former GRC adviser are still before the courts.

The Gault revelations marked the second time in just 15 days that the political independence of the RCMP has been questioned. On Nov. 6, RCMP Staff Sgt. Richard Jordan stated an Ottawa courtroom when he said that he believed that the RCMP's decision to lay charges against Gault interfered unfairly. Doug Small was jeeringly interrupted. Small, a two-time Ottawa councillor, was set to appear in court again in real time on charges of possession of stolen property as a case that involves last April's federal budget leak but that advanced abruptly after the Crown prosecutor declared that he might be called as a witness.

The Gault and Small cases posed a clear challenge for Lalor. He took over the force on September, 1987, when the RCMP was still reeling from the effects of the 1981 McDonald Royal Commission report into RCMP wrongdoing. That inquiry, started in July 1977, ended raised the RCMP by showing that its officers had often broken the law in attempts to monitor and discredit Quebec separatists. It also led to the RCMP's national security function being turned over to the newly formed, independent Canadian Security Intelligence Service, leaving the Mounties with police responsibilities. Now, Lalor will have to show that the force he commands has learned the lessons of the past.

BRECK WALLACE in Ottawa

The end of a manhunt

A sense of relief swept the Miramichi

Drivers passing the RCMP station in New Brunswick last night had a lot to say. People on the street applauded as the hospital in nearby Chatham, the manacled suspect in the public-address system led to a spontaneous coffee-and-doughnuts party in the cafeteria. The reason for the elation had swept across New Brunswick's Miramichi area late last week after a manhunt had lasted more than six weeks. Police had finally captured escaped killer Andre Legere, 41, the prime suspect in a string of brutal murders in the region. Declared Chatham gas-bar owner Wayne Jeffrey: "It's the greatest Christmas gift since Jesus."

The events that led to Legere's capture began during an interview in the early hours of Nov. 24 when a visiting RCMP officer noticed a man flipping his doors and a two in the ditch beside the Trans-Canada Highway west of Miramichi. When the officer stopped, the man showed him a 308 rifle and, looking a little nervous, said: "Get into his car, along with the taxi driver. Legere advised the officer to drive off the Trans-Canada and go to Chatham, 120 km north of Miramichi. But the officer took a wrong turn and the taxi ended up back on the highway they had left, heading west. At about 2 a.m. they stopped for gas. 70 km south-west of Miramichi. "Along the car keys with him, Legere pumped gas and then went to pay for it—

with the RCMP officer's money. The officer took spare keys from his pocket, started the car, and drove off with the taxi driver—heading directly to the local RCMP detachment. Legere then commandeered a parked beat tractor trailer. About 20 hours later, a truck driver in the St-Leonard-Chatham vicinity spotted the heaped truck in a side road not actually used by such trucks. He alerted the police, who quickly set up roadblocks in the area. At about 5 a.m., the trapped truck came to a stop at a police barrier in a back road near the community of Miramichi-Mir, across the Miramichi river from New Brunswick. The driver, at once jumped out shouting, "It's not me! Don't shoot!" But then Legere—30 lb. lighter and with his last shirt soaked and greyer than when he captured—surrounded with a struggle. And Nick MacLean, editor of the weekly *Miramichi Leader*: "Now we can get on with our lives."

Indeed, in a series of last-minute reports, many residents of the Miramichi expressed hope that the reign of terror they had endured since May was finally over. One Mrs. J. Legere, wearing a life vest for the wonder of an elderly shopkeeper in the Chatham area, escaped from gunning during a hospital raid in Miramichi. Only 26 days later, Chatham shopkeeper Anne Flett, 75, was found beaten to death in her



Legere, armed with a sawed-off .308 rifle

partially home alone. On Oct. 14, sister Susan Alberta Daugherty, 45, and Linda Lois Daugherty, 41, died as a result of another brutal attack. Both had been unusually cautious and hesitant before their murders on their way to their New Brunswick home. On Nov. 16, Rev. James South, 68, a Roman Catholic priest in nearby Chatham, died, was found beaten to death in his rectory. Last week, New Brunswick RCMP officers said that Legere streams the most suspect in all four murders. They added that an RCMP tactical squad would arrest the shocked former bar manager back to the RCMP headquarters where he was serving his sentence—and this week to a Miramichi court, where new charges will be laid against him.

And there was one last comfort for residents of New Brunswick and the surrounding communities last week. Legere's conviction, police had suggested that a second was likely to be accomplice in his crimes, as well as helping him to escape their pursuit. In fact, the RCMP even conducted a search of the second suspect. But with Legere back in custody they withdrew the "second man" theory and acknowledged that the sketch matched the driver, down-along Legere himself. But the weary police of the Miramichi, that knowledge would end their role of the capture of the man whom many believe held their community in a death of terror for half a year.

PETER KOPPELMAN with DEAN WATSON in Miramichi

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AGONY IN BEIRUT

Lebanon's best hopes for peace after 15 years of civil war had taken months of arduous diplomacy to bring about. In September, Arab League negotiators orchestrated a ceasefire. In October, they masterminded a peace agreement between Christians and Muslims in Taif, in Saudi Arabia, and, in November, they engineered the election of a president. And in mid-February, they secured an independence Day last week, these achievements went up in smoke, when a massive bomb killed the new head of state, René Mouawad, and at least 33 other people. No one claimed responsibility for the bombing. And in the country plunged back into deep crisis, Druze leader Walid Junaid, head of one of Lebanon's warring factions, threatened that if parliamentary deputies did not find a successor to Mouawad and get the peace process back on track, "we shall enter a period of hell." Late last week, the deputies did find a successor: Monseigneur Christian Elias Hraoui, who immediately pledged to carry on Mouawad's work of national reconciliation.

Two "official" Independence Day speeches—one by Mouawad, one by his son and heir Appolline, Lebanon's Christian sect chief, Gen. Michel Aoun—highlighted the country's deadly divisions just hours before the murder. From his underground bunker at Baalbek, clinging to his self-proclaimed role as interim president and denying the legitimacy of Mouawad's election, Aoun declared, "I alone have the right to speak in the name of Lebanon." But, in a television address to the fractured nation, Mouawad appealed for reconciliation. There had been "enough agony, enough blood, enough destruction," he said. "Let us at long last close ranks and build the new Lebanon."

It was characteristic of Lebanon's messy negotiations that the 61-year-old lawyer Mouawad was a member of the same once-dominant but now-deteriorated Maronite Christian community as the 55-year-old soldier Aoun. The deadly differences between them is that Aoun insists determination to drive out the 40,000 Syrian troops who are in Lebanon is an inalienable precondition for peace, while Mouawad was committed to co-operation with the Syrians and reconciliation with their Lebanese Muslim allies.

The crisp tension Independence Day began

A BOMB BLAST KILLS LEBANON'S PRESIDENT, AND A NEW LEADER STEPS INTO THE DEADLY POST

with the foreign diplomatic corps arriving a show of its respective governments' support for the Arab League peace process. Decried across by Aoun to the presidential palace at Baalbek, Mouawad—together with State Minister Prince Minister Salem al-Hawi, and Shiite Muslim Speaker Elias al-Husseini—received their diplomatic guests in an old Olym-

Mouawad working for reconciliation



pus mansion in the Shearath district of West Beirut. Just before 1:45 p.m., Mouawad left for his temporary quarters overlooking the Mediterranean Sea, riding in an armored limousine as part of a heavily armed convoy. Less than a minute later, as his car passed an abandoned shop, someone detonated, by remote control, an estimated 400 lb of explosives hidden inside the building—and Mouawad's 12-day presidency came to a bloody end.

It took rescue workers 2½ hours to identify his remains from among the body fragments scattered over the street. Among the other dead were several of Mouawad's bodyguards and Syrian soldiers who had been guarding the route. Mouawad, who had been a member of parliament for 32 years, was the second Lebanese president in seven years to fall victim to a bomb. In 1982, in the aftermath of the Israeli invasion, leader Gemayel had been killed in an explosion soon after being elected president.

As in the case of Gemayel, it may never be known who ordered the killing of Mouawad. The Syrians and many Lebanese clearly suspected Aoun, who rejected the peace agreement and Mouawad's election as a villain of Christian interests. Aoun replied that the killing was the work of Damascus. Meanwhile, the government-controlled media of Iraq, which supported Aoun in his attempts to drive Syrians out of Beirut, blamed Syria and Iran. And others in the Arab world blamed the Israelis, who have controlled a so-called security zone in southern Lebanon since 1978. Whoever was responsible, it was, as a Lebanese army intelligence officer put it, "the work of a first-class expert, highly specialized and professional."

Prince Minister Elias, one of the architects of the peace agreement and himself a survivor of several assassination attempts, formally announced Mouawad's death on television. On the verge of tears, Hraoui revealed both grief and anger. "Let the situation leave that they can not destroy the splendid national faith that brought René Mouawad to the presidency," he said. "We cannot coaches to pursue with determination the path for which Mouawad gave his life." But the official day of mourning that



The bomb site: an armored Mercedes and an estimated 400 lb. of explosives

was proclaimed on Nov. 23 remained unobserved in the Christian enclave of East Beirut, and it was clear that the majority (less reported) Aoun. The general became interim president 14 months ago, when criminal Syria made it impossible to elect a successor to Aoun Gemayel, and he has stubbornly refused to move out of the shell-shattered palace in Baalbek or to compromise with the Syrians and their Lebanese Muslim allies.

Among the Muslims of West Beirut, the prohibition against joining the association seemed to be fair. Many expressed concern that the nervous East-West artillery battle, which killed at least 900 people in the city between March and the ceasefire last September, would begin anew. "One hundred thousand people have died in this war so far," said Ali, a Shiite photographer at the scene of the

explosion, "in why should I care about the death of my own man?"

On Friday, 52 Christian and Muslim members of parliament met in a hotel in Syrian-controlled eastern Lebanon and chose moderate Elias Hraoui, 66, as the new president. A Maronite Christian businessman and former cabinet minister, Hraoui immediately vowed to continue the Taif peace plan. "I intend my hand to co-operate with every Lebanese, and especially the leaders without any exception," he declared—an apparent reference to Gen. Aoun. But Aoun denounced the election as "a comedy" having many observers to conclude that Lebanon's problems—including the veritable partition of the country—would remain as intractable as ever.

LARA MARLOWE in Beirut

World Notes

A GREEN UNITY GOVERNMENT

In Athens, the leaders of the Conservative, Socialist and Communist parties agreed to form a unity government to end a political crisis after this year's second nonconclusive election. The unity government under Prime Minister Konstantinos Karamanlis, 85, a former central bank governor, will oversee until new elections are called next April.

INDIAN ELECTION VIOLENCE

At least 46 people were killed during India's three-day parliamentary elections. Supporters of the rival parties battled each other and police while trying to obtain polling booths, tear up voter lists and stuff ballot boxes, officials said. The results of the elections, in which Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's ruling Congress (I) party is being challenged by the National Front alliance, are expected this week.

RAMING WARNING

Drew Morton, the US World Food Program representative in Ethiopia, said that up to 600,000 tons of relief food might be needed next year to avert widespread famine like those suffered in the 1984-1985 famine, which killed as many as one million people. Morton said that severe drought in war-torn northern Ethiopia may threaten as many as four million people with starvation.

AUSCHWITZ CONTROVERSY

Two U.S. lawyers said Poland's Roman Catholic primate, Józef Cardinal Glemp, for deflection in a Polish court as behalf of New York Radio Abramson, Warsaw, August, 1988, and so other from scaling the wall of the Auschwitz death camp to demand the pope's removal. Glemp had said that the protesters "did not let the nation destroy the country any because they were not a state by law but by law, Poland's Catholic church has since announced that it will build a new house for the mass, preserving Auschwitz as a silent tribute to the four million people, most of them Jews, killed there during the Second World War.

NAMIBIA WITHDRAWAL

South Africa ended its 74-year occupation of neighboring Namibia by withdrawing all remaining 1,500 soldiers to Walvis Bay, the deepest port on the territory's Atlantic coast, over which Pretoria still claims control. Following elections last month, Namibians began drafting a new constitution leading to independence next year.

Prague's Autumn Revolt



IN FOUR BRIEF MONTHS, THE SOVIETS HAVE LOST MUCH OF THEIR EMPIRE

Last week, Czechoslovaks stood, crowd and filled TV screens with bright banners and compelling facts that betrayed the same expressions of hope, determination and almost incredulity that the Poles, Hungarians and East Germans were before them. And, once again, a government collapsed. They are the workers of the world, or at least of Eastern Europe, and they are finally coming, although not quite in the way that Karl Marx envisioned. But Marx is suddenly beside the point. So are words like "utopianism" and even "liberal," quiet anachronisms in a time too fluid to suggest adequate replacements. The operative word now is "change," at a speed that astonishes it as though a great wind were rapidly turning the pages of history before anyone had a chance to read them, and the only certainty is the name of the chapter: *The Decline and Fall of the Soviet Empire.*

For Canadians, last week's upsurge from the East, rippled close from Moscow as well, where Boris Yeltsin was making the first official visit by a prime minister in 18 years. There, he signed a stack of bilateral accords and met with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, who in Yeltsin's words, has "made an indelible impact on the conduct of nations." Coming to power only 446 years ago, Gorbachev was determined to marshal resources for an assault on the Soviet Union's economic stagnation. In the process, he set about altering four decades of Cold War assumptions at home and abroad. Among them was the post-Second World War notion that Soviet security required a buffer of puppet regimes in Eastern Europe. In short, the empire was expendable.

The Eastern Europeans, of course, are familiar with Soviet repression, and it has not been easy for them to believe in what Soviet

spokesman Gennadi Gerasimov recently called the "Sinatra Doctrine"—but they are really giving their wage. But now, they are changing their shapes of freedom like Sinatra, and, swiftly, one after the other, their Communist masters are going away. It took three centuries of social decay and battles on continents for the Russian Empire to collapse. The British survived the self-indulgent staunch independence movements in such places as India, Pakistan and Africa, dismantled their empire over three decades. But the Soviets have relinquished much of their empire, voluntarily, in just four remarkable months.

In August, the Polish Communist party allowed Tadeusz Mazowiecki, a leader in the once-outlawed trade union, Solidarity, to become prime minister. In October, Hungarian Communists transformed themselves into social democrats and scheduled elections for next year. A week and a half later, longtime East German leader Erich Honecker resigned and was replaced by Egon Krenz, who, the following month, opened the Berlin Wall—the most potent symbol of the Iron Curtain—for migration to the West. Hard-line Bulgarians forced out President Todor Zhivkov after 36 years in power, and new leader Petar Mladenov has promised reforms. Within a month in Prague's Venceslas Square (Spatz) celebrating the fall of Czechoslovakian leader Milos Jakes last week, only Romania—where President Nicolae Ceausescu was re-elected party chief—remains an untouched bastion of the old order.

The high-speed change in the East has left Western leaders slightly breathless. Candidates by decades of Cold War experience, more reacted strategically to Gorbachev's internal policies of openness and economic reform, and to his external drive for arms control. At the start of the decade, Ronald Reagan branded the Soviet empire as "evil." And long after he retired it—while striding singly through Red Square last year—but successor, George Bush greets the transformation of Eastern Europe with a cautious caution that he describes with his favorite home word, "prudence."

This week, the world's attention came to two ships in the Mediterranean, off Malta, where Bush and Gorbachev are meeting. There has been speculation about more troop cuts and internal moves towards countering East and West Germany. They are the issues of a new day, a rapidly changing order in Eastern Europe where, as Gorbachev put it last week, he is determined to "make up for lost time."

Next week—who can predict anyone?



COVER

PEOPLE POWER

**EIGHT STRAIGHT DAYS OF
DEMONSTRATIONS FORCED
CZECHOSLOVAKIA'S HARD-
LINE GOVERNMENT TO QUIT**

It happened in a split-second history. Only one week before, not only had the leaders of communist parties in the Balkans to show the world with which: Czechoslovakian Communist party chief Milos Jakes intended to reject demands for political change. Then, on Friday night, the Jakes government collapsed, and Czechoslovakia was subsumed by the vast revolutionary wave of reform sweeping across the east. The "Glasnost Spring" had been unleashed. The Czechoslovakian Communist Party struck a blow in Prague's Wenceslas Square, the site of the nationwide protest movement, the crowds met wild with joy, discharging the recent rebellion in champagne to they celebrated the victory of people power. And just as the square, in a moment there where they were holding a new conference, the Czechoslovakian Communist Party was being dissolved, the Czechoslovakian Communist Party was being dissolved. Alexander Dubcek, the first Czechoslovakian Communist Party leader, was being dissolved. Alexander Dubcek, the first Czechoslovakian Communist Party leader, was being dissolved.

der Dabórk—embraced and shook a hand to a "fine Czechoslovakian." Meanwhile, a relatively unknown political figure, Karel Urbánek, 68, walked into

Democracy had not yet arrived, but the spell of darkness that had hung over Czechoslovakia since a Soviet-led invasion in 1968 appeared a hard-line neo-Stalinist regime was broken. The resignation of 67-year-old Jirasek and his colleagues, following the overthrow of the ruling party by the military, shocked the world. But Jirasek, a respected scholar and politician, represented the collapse of the hard-line

It's over: By Saturday, Dudaš's apparent to have reached a conclusion. Joining Harel and other Civic Party leaders in confirming the new leadership, Dudaš said a rally that attracted thousands to the city's Alexander Nevsky Cathedral in the center of Prague sports field that it was a "historic change." But on Friday evening, in reports of the ragunations speed through the streets of the capital, the crowds flocked back to Wences-



the night before by the military with a chill of apprehension over the pro-democracy movement. State-run television had interrupted normal service to allow a hastily assembled general to deliver a statement drawn up by the country's most senior officers. "We reject anarchy," he read from the statement. "We are ready to defend the achievements of socialism."

There were other indications that at least some members of the hierarchy were contemplating a crackdown as well. They included a statement on Thursday in the official party newspaper, *Red Star*, that the Communists would "firmly enforce" the constitution, which guarantees its monopoly of power. *Red Star* also reported on Thursday that units of the *Min-kuang-sheng*, paramilitary People's Militia had been summoned from around the country to the capital to "ensure public peace." But, after arriving, apparently they sent them back to their original units.

Most of the television news coverage of the demonstrations did not exceed the levels set by the government. Exactly where those limits lay was not clear, but it was obvious that coverage was being altered in an unsequence, shown on Thursday night, demonstrations in Prague appeared to be chasing a government spokesman in an attempt to change in the sound quality indicated that someone else had been speaking. The Czech television news anchor Alois Dufek, when Dufek addressed a rally in Bratislava, he appeared on television for only three seconds and was not identified.

Small Friday evening's rally in Woodstock Square, along with similar rallies in towns and cities across the country, was the eighth in an unbroken sequence of daily demonstrations that finally led to the Central Committee's decision to open negotiations with the vast crowd. Employed by the characteristic dignity and discipline of the Czechoslovak people, revealing a determination to prevent the kind of turmoil that could provide an excuse for police intervention. Still, until reports spread of the President's resignation, there was an unmistakable undercurrent of anger and defiance in the ranks of the protesters. "Death to the party," "Jail to the traitors" and "No

he Square and the sparkling water—a pink variety, known as Bahamian pink—blown Cars careened through the area, horns blowing, while about 20,000 people hugged each other, waved flags, cheered and shouted "It's over" and "We've done it." Others lit candles

Albany: The 350-member Communist party Central Committee went into emergency session on Friday morning—apparently divided between hardliners and those who favored concessions. At the same time, a warning issued

Jakir is sadly visited as the man who, as head of the Communist party's watchdog Control and Auditing Committee, purged several hundred thousand alleged "counterrevolutionaries" from the party after the Soviets crushed Bab'ka's rebellion in 1968. And the Czechoslovaks' long-repressed anger against him and his allies seemed in some cases dangerously close to the flash point. "I'd like to see Jakir hanging from a lamp-post," growled a cagey-looking Pines who gave his name as Petr L. He had been head agent two years in jail for



Demonstrators in Prague's Wenceslas Square
 (left) March against communist government

publicly supporting the human rights group Charter 77. "Democracy and fair play and things like that can wait a little longer," he said. "We want to pay back the Communists for dragging out society."

Revelatory Much of the major scandal broke as a modest in which the police allegedly beat a student named Martin Šimek to death during the first of the mass demonstrations on Nov. 17. Although scores of people were struck by police batons that evening, the authorities denied that anyone was killed and they presented a young man of the same name, alive and well, on television. A government spokesman, Petr Štěrba, was later charged with allegedly spreading false reports of Šimek's death. And at a meeting with leaders of Civic Forum on Wednesday, Prime Minister Ladislav Adamec presented an investigation into police behavior.

But whatever Šimek's true fate was the undoubted brutality of the police was the catalyst that seemed to change public demands for reform into something more fundamental: the demand for justice and the end of the old guard, followed by free elections to bring about an end to Communist rule altogether.

After Nov. 17, the police kept a low profile. And, with increasing boldness, speakers at mass rallies in Prague, Bratislava, Brno and other Czechoslovak cities accused Jelinek of responsibility for the killing spree, widespread environmental pollution, corruption, favoritism, and—of course—repression. Said Prague demonstrator Eva Šim-

pionová: "The Communists are a mafia. You must have Communist friends in high places and lots of money to get a good job."

By midweek, hundreds of university students and street mobs were clashing with riot police at strikes, at which two-building events were eagerly and loudly denounced. Protesters who had previously kept silent about law



Prague celebrations. Jelinek blamed and the rebellion now flared

breaks in Czechoslovakia's recent history opened up to students' questions. They talked about the nation's 38 years of democracy between the end of the First World War and the Nazi invasion in 1939, about the Communist takeover in 1948, which turned Czechoslovakia into a Soviet satellite, and about the purported suicide that year—which many believe was murder—of the democratic leader, Jan Masaryk. And above all, they talked about Jelinek and the crushing of his Prague Spring.

With students, professors, artists and intellectuals leading the way, the students came

prepared to combine informal workers' jobs with the mass movement and participate in a nationwide two-hour general strike on Nov. 27. But many workers seemed reluctant to take part, mostly at least. Czechoslovakia is one of Eastern Europe's most highly industrialized and economically successful nations, and large parts of its comparatively well-paid labor force may have a greater concern for living standards than democracy. At a 56-year-old worker in Prague, who declined to give his name, said last week, "Our life is not so bad. I've traveled to Italy and France. Most people wouldn't choose another life." But Jakubek, "they do want to live more openly."

Have, who confessed on Saturday that the strike would go ahead despite the change in government, said that leaders of more than 500 factories had promised to join.

Trade: Meanwhile, Ustibek offered to talk with the students. The new leader said on television that the party had become "isolated from the people and the truth." "This echoed a statement that the party Central Committee issued after the old Politburo's ouster: "We have failed to justify many of the processes taking place in Poland, Hungary and especially in the German Democratic Republic, and their influence on our society."

But Dubček's emergence from the shadows started speculation that he might eventually lead the nation again. A stay-at-home poll of more than 500 people conducted by Prague journalists said that, at midweek, Jelinek had to be the favorite choice—among the minority

after Jelinek resigned. Jelinek said that hardhearted demonstration will not occur until the government allows free, multi-party elections. "We are dealing with Communists," said Jelinek, "and you can't trust them."

Štěrba, most ethnic Czechs and Slovaks were openly proud that their country had at least made the first step toward democracy. "There will be Czechs parading around the world's map," said Maria Galinskova, 38, who lives in Canada in 1968. Under current Czechoslovak law, Galinskova would have to renounce her Czechoslovak citizenship, or ask for a pardon for the crime of leaving her country, before being allowed back for a visit. And she says that she has refused, on principle, to do either. Last week she expressed the hope that those laws will change and then, Galinskova said, "I could finally go back to visit my friends and family."

MARY KEMETU

WATCHING FROM A DISTANCE

When Jelinek counterfeited the euphoria that swept Czechoslovakia in 1968, her family was pronounced by the country's first-line Western reporter after the Second World War, she said, and her father served nine years in jail. As a result, when Alexander Dubček came to power in January, 1968, and introduced liberal reforms, Jelinek was filled with hope. That hope was brutally crushed when Western Pact forces invaded her country in August, 1968, ousted Dubček and imposed a hard-line regime. But last week, Jelinek—who returned to Canada nine years ago—watched news reports on television from her Toronto home as Czechoslovaks took to the streets once again to demand democratic change. "I thought, if I could go on the streets again," sighed Jelinek, a 49-year-old

freelance journalist. And when she heard that Communist party leader Milos Jurek had resigned, the same euphoria that engulfed Jelinek 21 years ago returned anew. She declared, "I feel like Alice in Wonderland."

Last weekend, many of the 30,000 ethnic Czechs and Slovaks in Canada celebrated Jelinek's ouster. Among them was a published letter, the federal supply and services minister, whose family fled Czechoslovakia in 1948. "I'm ecstatic," he declared. "I hope and pray this is the real thing." Others opened telephone lines, calling relatives in their homeland. The Toronto Czechoslovak community also organized a rally for Nov. 28, both to celebrate and to press for further democratization.

Štěrba, 60, of Ottawa, 41, editor of the bilingual Czech word "Slovo," says, "Every newspaper in Toronto, was among those who watched last week's developments anxiously. I was very afraid that there would be another Tatarskaya Square," he said, referring to the Chinese army's bloody assault on protesters in Beijing's main square last June. And once

after Jelinek resigned, Jelinek said that hardhearted demonstration will not occur until the government allows free, multi-party elections. "We are dealing with Communists," said Jelinek, "and you can't trust them."

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who issued a proclamation—to lead a reform government. He was named by 28 per cent of those polled, while the politically inexperienced Ruzel was the choice of 18 per cent. Seventy per cent answered: "Don't know."

Still, some leaders of the strategically anti-Communist Civic Forum appeared to have reservations about Dubček, who has never renounced communism. In contrast, Havel said, "I stopped using the word 'socialist' 15 years ago." And, certainly, the reforms that Dubček introduced 21 years ago were propelled by nostalgia with communist demands. But on the streets of Prague, there were many who appeared to support Dubček. "We are going to meet him after we throw out the Communists," said another communist, Hana Maděnská, 67, in the several years from her 47th.

Fabrizio: Meanwhile, in Romania last week a respected columnist argued as its Communist leadership held a five-day party congress and more recently re-elected Nicolae Ceaușescu, 71, to another five-year term as party leader and head of state. In a five-hour speech, the unmodified Ceaușescu made it clear that the reform movement would not affect Romania as long as he remained in charge. Indeed he said he was planning more, not less, governmental and party control of everyday life. "The party cannot give up its revolutionary responsibility," he said the 3,000 delegates. "The party is the vital centre of our nation, the political revolutionary consciousness of the entire people." The delegates applauded with rhythmic handclapping, and chants of "Romania, communism, Ceaușescu, forever."

Congress, who has ruled Romania since 1965, is currently pursuing an industrialization program in which thousands of small villages are being destroyed to make way for factories. The living standards of his 23 million people are among the lowest in what used to be socialist



Dubček: spokesman of 1968's short-lived Prague Spring

turned has been called the Soviet Bloc. Still, Ceaușescu, with his rich, Elton, is the centre of a personality cult unopposed, even as the Communist world, since the days of Josef Stalin.

While Romanians cheered their leader and rebellious Czechoslovaks daily enlarged their demands for democracy, both and Gorbachev prepared for the weekend's duplicated meet-

ings in the Mediterranean. Although they have no formal agenda, the dramatic changes in Eastern and Central Europe will clearly be a prime topic. Gorbachev, speaking to reporters at an agreement signing ceremony with Prime Minister Brian Mulroney (page 36) urged even more rapid change. "We have to make up for lost time," he said. And although he made no specific mention of Czechoslovakia, the remark seemed aimed at the leadership in Prague.

For his part, Bush appeared to Gorbachev in a televised address to "work with me to bring down the last barriers to a new world of freedom." He called recent events in Eastern Europe "a joyful end to one of history's saddest chapters," adding that when they meet, he will ask for Gorbachev's assurance that the reformers consider as its return, he will pledge that the United States would not take advantage of the situation. Bush also said his North Atlantic Treaty Organization allies that there would be "no surrender" in the field of arms control.

Residents: As Western analysts fixated on such long-range concerns, the Czechoslovak dissidents, who had brought down one of the Communist world's most elaborate regimes in just over a week, surveyed their achievement with justifiable pride. And local journalist Michael Ruzický in the spontaneous victory celebration in the Music Theatre theatre rebuked: "Nobody gave this to us as a Christmas present. Finally, we can respect ourselves."

JOHN BREEMAN with ANDREW PHILLIPS and JANNI HOLLAND in Prague. PETTIE GERON in Brussels and WILLIAM LOFFMEIER in Washington.

EAST GERMANY'S WINDS OF CHANGE

As Czechoslovakia's Communist rulers appeared last week over their counterparts' crumbling demands for reform, East Germany's hard-line leaders took a somewhat less-than-enthusiastic line in a telephone interview in the official party daily, *Neues Deutschland*, on Friday: president and party leader Egon Krenz, 52, said that the leadership was now ready to abolish the constitutional ban on Article One. This states that East Germany is an socialist state led by the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party, and guarantees a monopoly of power to the Communist Party. Berlin, Krenz had said that he was willing to step down if the forthcoming party congress told him to.

In another interview, with *The Financial Times* of London, Krenz said that East Germany would not vote towards capital-

ism but would follow "a path of real socialism." Still, he told *Neues Deutschland*: "There cannot and will not be a return to old conditions." And in an obvious reference to his predecessor, Erich Honecker, 77, who is now under arrest—allegedly for embezzling—he added: "Whoever has broken the law belongs in court. Whoever talked secretly about leaving before the party and the people." Krenz's remarks clearly avoided Honecker's close associate, Günter Mittag, 63, who having been fired from the Politburo last month, was locked out of the party last week. Indeed, a report in the West German newspaper *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* said that Mittag had been interrogated for 14 hours about allegations that he had secretly made deposits amounting to millions of dollars in Swiss banks.

In another dramatic move towards greater openness, the government lifted a ban on 12 movies once considered too subversive to be screened. *Neues Deutschland* director Frank Rösler, 55, wrote openly in a Thursday news conference, announcing the lifting of the ban on his 1966 production, *Trial of Simon*.

East German television also broke with past practice by taking viewers inside the compound at Wandlitz, north of Berlin, where Honecker and other old-guard Communist leaders enjoyed lives of privilege behind high walls. The cameras showed clients while enjoying luxury imported from such as swimming machines and expensive bathroom fixtures, that are unknown to most East Germans. On the shelves of the canteen were other rarities, such as oranges and bananas. The only negative news relating to East Germany's new openness was the introduction of stringent customs regulations. They are intended to stem the outflow of money and the smuggling of cheap, government-subsidized goods for sale at a huge profit at the West—a popular gambit since the opening of the Berlin Wall on Nov. 9. Freedom, too, has its serious side.

JOHN BREEMAN with correspondents' reports.



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COVER

CATCHING UP

MULRONEY VISITS THE NEW MOSCOW

When they met in the Kremlin's lavishly appointed St. Vladimir's Hall last week, Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev smilingly chided Prime Minister Brian Mulroney. As they began the first official meeting between leaders of the two countries since 1971, Gorbachev declared, "We cannot allow such a long wait to be repeated in the future." Responding Mulroney: "I expect that there you will accept our invitation to visit as soon." Then, the two were set down to a lunch at which they took course

reminding about their parents and their respective childhood experiences. After five hours of meetings, the two leaders signed a joint declaration committing their nations to respecting the right of Europeans to "pursue paths of political and economic change without outside interference and as a consequence of unconditional confidence and security." Declared an emboldened Mulroney: "Our two countries have embarked on a new beginning in our relationship." And for his part, the Soviet leader said that Eastern Europe has to "make

Mulroney, Gorbachev at Krombiy ceremony: a gentle chiding

up for lost time." Added Gorbachev: "This requires a more rapid pace of change."

Events last week provided abundant new evidence that, in parts of Eastern Europe at least, Gorbachev's challenge had been accepted—with startling swiftness. In the wake of momentous changes in Poland, East Germany and Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia's ruling Politburo assigned as the face of daily demonstrations by hundreds of thousands citizens demanding reform (twice), with the changes in Eastern Europe outstripping the reform policies that Gorbachev initiated after he succeeded the late Russian's Chernenko in 1985. Mulroney's six-day visit—which included visits to Leningrad and the Ukrainian capital of Kiev—seemed to be taking place in the eye of the storm. Even in the Soviet Union, the forces unleashed by Gorbachev's reform policies continued to chip away at the foundations of the Soviet empire. Among last week's developments in Lithuania, severed during the Second World War, the parliament established a commission to study means of restoring the Baltic republic's independence.

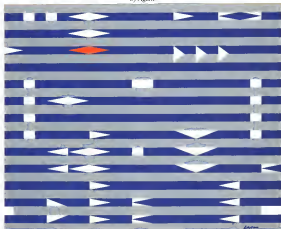
Mulroney's list, for the most part, Mulroney and the Canadian delegation, which included External Affairs Minister Joe Clark, tried to distance itself from Soviet domestic problems, limited, in an apparent attempt to not reflect Gorbachev's exhortation to make up for lost time, they concentrated on enhancing Canada's image in the Soviet Union. Prior to the visit, Mulroney was an unknown in the Soviet Union; the English-language service of *Pravda*, the official Soviet news agency, not only alerted him by his little-used first name, *Mikhail*, but also impelled back that and his last name in the process, referring to him as "Prime Minister Mikhail Mulroney."

But after Mulroney's meetings with Gorbachev and Soviet Foreign Minister Nikolai Rykov and his subsequent endorsement of the reform efforts, the tone and volume of coverage immediately changed. The visit became the lead story on Soviet radio and television and received inevitable front-page coverage in the press. *Sudbina*, the official organ of the Soviet Communist party. The visit represents a large-scale act that will help bridge the future and reflect the similarity of Soviet-Canadian positions on many problems.

More importantly, the two sides signed more than a dozen agreements, covering subjects ranging from economic cooperation to joint programs in the Arctic. As well in Leningrad on Friday, Mulroney said that Canada has agreed the Soviet Union to work with a pro-

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AIR FRANCE



L'eau de toilette pour homme.

posed Canadian Trade Commissioner to study problems in the Arctic. Canada has also invited the Soviet Union to take part in a conference in Yellowknife, N.W.T., next spring to coordinate economic and transportation efforts in the Arctic. And on the diplomatic front, the two sides indicated their openness to expand consultations with each other. Mulroney said that Ottawa, which now maintains an embassy in Moscow, is giving "serious" priority to plans to open a consulate in St. Petersburg. He said that Canadian officials will also likely reopen a closed consulate in Leningrad. In turn, the Soviets, who have an embassy in Ottawa and a consulate in Montreal, are expected to open a second consulate in Toronto.

Deals: Still, much of the activity last week focused on expanding trade ties between the two countries. Concerned with the Mulroney visit, a 180-member Canadian business delegation was in Moscow under the sponsorship of the newly formed Canada-U.S.S.R. Business Council to attend that organization's inaugural dinner and pursue new deals with Soviet businesses (page 40). Meanwhile, Mulroney and Rybikov used meetings by signing an agreement promising Canadian assistance for construction of three ventures are nationalized or reappropriated by the Soviet government.

During a Monday meeting with the Soviet prime minister, Mulroney even suggested that if Rybikov would designate a specific area of the troubled Soviet economy—citing agriculture as an example—Mulroney would encourage Canadian companies to reinvest their efforts on that sector. Rybikov initially refused the offer, saying that it is up to the Soviet people to solve their own problems. But, at a state dinner that night with Mulroney, Rybikov suggested that the meeting would be a useful help to cure the chronic housing shortage. Mulroney then introduced Rybikov to Albert Beckman, a giant at the dinner and president of the huge Toronto-based Olympia & York Development Ltd. As a result, Rybikov arranged for a future meeting with Beckman whose firm recently announced plans to build a \$250-million, 60-story building in Moscow. Commented Paul Bishop, a lawyer with the Calgary firm Marchand, Brown and its former commercial offices with the Canadian Banknote in Moscow: "It used to be that few people have been anything about Canadian business. Now, everybody wants to learn to do it."

In fact, Mulroney's performance in private

meetings was praised from both sides. Both Soviet and Canadian officials said that he quickly established a strong rapport with both Rybikov and Gorbachev—in part by citing shared elements of personal history. In addition, he exchanged family recollections with Gorbachev. Mulroney left on his proposal to Rybikov, a former director of the Soviet Union's largest heavy-equipment manufacturing factory, by citing their mutual business backgrounds. Said an aide to Mulroney: "Both deals with him in the heat of one businessman to another, and it built a common ground."



Clark and Shevardnadze (right) improving contacts in the eye of the Eastern European storm

For their part, Soviet officials publicly acknowledged Canadian enthusiasm over the results of the meetings. Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, in a lengthy interview published in the daily newspaper *Izvestia*, said that Soviet Canadian relations "have reached a not-easy but constant climb towards a mutual partnership which will be a basis of co-operation world wide." Added Shevardnadze, who met Clark for two hours of discussions: "The talks in Moscow were just such a step, a most important milestone."

Believer: Even as the accolades flowed freely, though, some Soviet officials privately admitted their displeasure about Canada's slowness at recognizing the pace of Soviet reforms, tentatively they noted disappointment that Mulroney did not completely repudiate his government's 1987 white paper on defense. In that positive paper, the government declared to the Soviet Union as a potential enemy, leaving the country of Russia to remain the world's old enemy. Asked in two separate

occasions by reporters whether he now disavowed such sentiments, Mulroney did not answer directly either time—although he praised Gorbachev as "a great reformer doing remarkable things." Still, one official in the Soviet foreign ministry: "It seems to take Canada a very long time to change its views. But we are learning to be patient, and Canadian learning is better in us."

As well, despite the widespread praise for Mulroney's private demeanor, he got mixed reviews for his public performance. While Gorbachev smiled and listened easily with report-

ers following the meeting between the two men, observers noted that Mulroney fidgeted nervously and frequently wrung his hands. In Moscow, there also were attacks from columnists when Mulroney and a lieutenant accompanied by a large motorcade to travel less than 200 m to a fitness program exercise in Red Square. At two news conferences, Mulroney's answers were so vague and rambling that frustrated reporters frequently repeated their questions several times for clarification. Aides later said that the Prime Minister was disoriented as a result of the eight-hour time difference between Canada and the Soviet Union and workdays that averaged more than 16 hours.

Still, Mulroney's hectic schedule left time for a small and very private surprise party organized by his aides. On Tuesday night following his meeting with Gorbachev, officials from the Prime Minister's Office (PMO) surprised Mulroney to Moscow's plush, newly opened Savoy Hotel—for a celebration to mark the first anniversary of his Nov. 21, 1988, re-

elusive. With about 15 guests invited via open telephone, Mulroney took a long-distance call from John Tory, his campaign foe elsewhere. Tory told Mulroney that the media coverage of his trip had been "terrible." As a result, he jokingly suggested, "you could bring in a budget right now on one week's notice."

Bookend: As an official visitor, Mulroney forced himself down into controversial areas in spite of the greater demonstrations now evident in the Soviet Union, some elements of Soviet life remain at odds with Canada's commitment to religious, human and political rights. And although the emphasis during Mulroney's Moscow visit was clearly on

ings with Shevardnadze, Clark decried the nationalist movements in the Baltic states. Clark later said that Shevardnadze had given him assurances that force was not being considered to quell the restless tide of Baltic nationalism.

For many members of Mulroney's staff, the visit to Kiev was clearly the one that presented the greatest diplomatic dangers. In Ukraine, nationalism and resentment against Moscow's authority has been on the upswing. The republic also has been wracked by a bitter and long-standing dispute between the Russian Orthodox Church, which is officially recognized by the authorities, and the Ukrainian Catholic

to the Shevardnadze impression pointed an indication that Gorbachev's reforms have succeeded in wiping away all the vestiges of the past. More than in years before he was to appear at the moment, a large contingent of KGB officers—apparently fleeing demonstrations by Christian nationalists—scoured all the areas to all but a handful of previously invited guests. When several hundred spectators arrived at the scene, among them some representatives of Ukrainian nationalist groups, they found themselves separated from Mulroney by the police. KGB agents slipped off their belts with batons and postured toward them. But as Mulroney left the moment after leaving a wreath, he appeared suddenly to notice the crowd on the other side of the police barricade. He broke away from the KGB corridor, surmounting him, walked up to the crowd and talked and shook hands with people for several minutes. KGB agents did not interfere with Mulroney—although they showed several Canadian journalists standing nearby. Said one of the crowd, a 19-year-old student named Natalia: "It's so wonderful to see him. But these guys are even scarier than that."

Coverage: Despite that incident, though, Mulroney was clearly impressed with the success of efforts by Gorbachev and senior government officials for reform. He praised Gorbachev several times for his "courage and commitment to change." And when asked by a reporter how Canada would react if Gorbachev's reforms fell he responded, "We do not consider that because we do not expect them to fail."

That statement was a clear indication that, in spite of complaints of Canadian timidity in reacting to Soviet changes, Canada has embarked on a new course in Soviet-Canadian relations. Still, that change is likely to be more apparent in Ottawa than in Moscow, where Canada is regarded as a middle-level power—not a major diplomatic priority. Last week, some Canadian officials speculated that Gorbachev may visit Canada next spring in connection with his expected Washington summit with U.S. President George Bush. But Gorbachev, in spite of his expressed wish to visit, said "rather soon," refused to commit himself to a date. Said one bilateral official: "We have shown new enthusiasm—it is up to them to decide what to do with that." For Canada, part of the price of new friendship with the Soviet Union may be the willingness to watch—and wait.

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ANTHONY WELSON-SMITH is in Moscow



Brian and Mela Mulroney with Raisa and Mikhail Gorbachev: shaking the visitor's name

trade and Arctic co-operation, he could not avoid confronting some of those troubling issues. The challenge facing him how to raise support of long-standing Canadian policies—without raising objections that he was meddling in the domestic affairs of the Soviet Union.

For the most part, those Canadian efforts appeared not to rouse the ire of Mulroney's Soviet hosts. While in Moscow, the Prime Minister toured a Jewish school, or yeshiva. There he promised greater Canadian efforts to help Soviet Jews overcome difficulties in emigrating. As well, the Canadian followed up on the Prime Minister's announcement before leaving for Moscow that the delegation would raise the issue of the Baltic states with Soviet leaders. Canada is one of many Western countries that does not recognize the Second World War annexation of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania by the Soviet Union. Those republics are now aggressively demanding greater political and economic autonomy from Moscow. In many

Church, which, although it has been weakened for more than four decades, still has millions of adherents. Officials from the two said that Mulroney was acutely aware of the difficulty of respectfully establishing his support of religious and political freedom without involving official Soviet anger. Said one press official: "We were walking on eggs all the time we were here."

Liberty: But Mulroney appeared to negotiate the minefield of nationalism successfully in a meeting with Vladimir Ivinskii, the first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist party. The Prime Minister stressed his support for the free will of all peoples. Ivinskii responded that the Supreme Soviet will soon pass a bill guaranteeing that right. And in his speech in Kiev at the moment, to 100,000 Ukrainian poet and musician Taras Shevchenko, Mulroney positively praised Shevchenko's commitment to "freedom and liberty for all peoples."

At the same time, the Prime Minister's visit

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Belitskaya (right) with Mulroney and Soviet officials at a superpower business Canada

THE ART OF THE DEAL

PRYING OPEN THE SOVIET MARKET

Alex Crankbank arrived in Moscow on Nov. 20 as part of a 500-person business delegation straddling a wall made of Soviet bureaucracy. Crankbank, a partner with Montreal-based Alouette International Inc., had already signed a deal with two Soviet cities under which a joint venture would manufacture garbage-sorting equipment in the Soviet Union and sell it to the municipalities. But before the Soviet cities could hand currency to buy the products, Crankbank agreed not to seek to take his payment in Soviet rubles but instead in dollars. And part of the better deal, Crankbank signed an \$8-million contract to export 2,000 tons of Soviet tomato paste to the West. By the end of the week-long trip, Crankbank's Canadian colleagues had given him a new nickname: "The God of Tomatoes Paste."

The Montreal businessman's experience demonstrated the flexibility that is often required when Western entrepreneurs try to take advantage of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's economic reforms. At the same time, the successful outcome reflected Soviet openness to import Western technology, as well as

the peacetime consumer goods that are frequently unavailable in Soviet stores.

But in spite of the complexities of doing business in a country with a currency that is not freely convertible into dollars, Crankbank and his fellow businessmen came away with some modest successes. Among a total of more than 50 new joint ventures initiated with Soviet agencies during the trip, Alouette Inc. Corp., a subsidiary of the Toronto-based developer Tridel International Inc., will enter into construction equipment with partners in Leningrad and Latvia, and Liberty Furniture Industries Ltd. of Concord, Ont., will build a furniture factory. Other joint ventures may also close in being signed at week's end—and many based on hazy assurances similar to Crankbank's home-run for technology deals.

Free-chip: But the businessmen also participated in what was perhaps a more significant milestone in trade relations between the two countries: last week's inaugural meeting of the Canada-U.S.S.R. Business Council, aimed to coincide with Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's first official visit to the Soviet Union. The organization was established last June by sev-

eral of the most blue-chip of the visiting Canadians and representatives of Soviet state enterprises. Among the Canadian founders, Albert Rothmann, president of real estate giant Olympia & York Developments Ltd., which announced in September a month ago to build Moscow's tallest office building. Rothmann said that he hopes the new council will promote more such joint enterprises. One expected development, which should further that intent, is an agreement being negotiated by a consortium of Toronto businesses for a \$1-billion redevelopment of Leningrad's waterfront (*Maclean's* Nov. 12).

Investments: Indeed, both Canadian and Soviet authorities clearly hope to see such business links expand. Total two-way trade between Canada and the Soviet Union amounted to \$1.27 billion last year, most of it in Canadian wheat sales. But Soviet economist Abel Agabekyan, one of the architects of Gorbachev's reforms, made it clear in a speech to the Canadians that the Kremlin is looking to Canada to help alleviate the shortages that affect its 285-million citizens. "These shortages have led to a sharp drop in incentives to work," he acknowledged. In order to appease frustrated shoppers, he added, the Soviet government plans to authorize about \$86 million worth of imports in consumer goods next year. Said Agabekyan: "We believe in offering the public more of a choice to spend its money."

Later, at a sumptuous luncheon in the garden, a 2,500-room Hotel Bulgaria, near the soccer domes of St. Basil's Cathedral, business council co-chairman Rothmann predicted that efforts to meet that goal would further accelerate the winding down of the Cold War. Said Rothmann: "We are approaching a time when, as the prophet Isaiah said, 'heavens will be better than gold.'"
For Brian Seligman, president of Vancouver-based Westcoast Offshore Canada Ltd., a deal he was pursuing last week with one Soviet ministry underscored that biblical metaphor. If it is finalized, Seligman's company would manufacture trucked amphibious vehicles in a factory once used for assembling Soviet tanks.

Export: Not only from the boasts of vodka and sparkling Georgian wine, Canadian veterans of past trade deals with the Soviets confessed their less-optimistic outcries not to export results overnight. Bruce Katsman, president of Toronto-based trading company The Wanderer Group Inc., Inc. Inc., verified the frustrations and delays after his company ordered a shipment of high-quality brooches and caskets equipped from a Soviet supplier. Said Katsman: "It has been a comedy of errors, a horror story." But in the end, he concluded, it was also "a very gratifying experience." In doing so, the business council made plans to open offices in Ottawa and Moscow early next year, many of its Canadian members said that they were ready to begin to take the one significant even more vital to successful Soviet deals than hard currency: large amounts of patience.

MICHAEL GRANT in Moscow



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FIGHTING IN THE STREETS

EL SALVADOR'S REBELS ATTACK A HOTEL AS WAR RAGES ON IN THE CAPITAL

For years, the San Salvador Sheraton Hotel had been a symbol of rare tranquility, safely removed from El Salvador's bitter civil war. Justing above a lush ravine in the heart of the capital's wealthy Florida district, it has a mostly loggia terrace, rising modestly with the country's rolling hills where the expensive houses throughout the neighborhood. But just before dawn last Tuesday, Nov. 21, that peaceful air was shattered by the crack of gunfire as about 150 left-wing guerrillas swarmed over the district, and a small group of them seized the hotel.

Rebels. Trapped inside were about 30 guests, including Jose Benito Somoza secretary general of the Organization of American States (OAS), and 12 members of the United States' elite Green Berets. The rebels, members of the Frente Fuerza Armada Liberación (FAL), killed two of Somoza's bodyguards and then drove to Somoza's hotel and ordered him to lead a fire fight against another barracks. President George Bush responded by ordering a U.S. rescue team into the area. But, 28 hours later, before the assault team was in place, the crisis was over: the rebels had slipped quietly away.

After the guerrillas retreated, it was clear that they had gained far more than temporary ground. In full view of the world's news media, the rebels had shown that they could strike



Somoza leaving besieged hotel with army guard; the power to strike almost anywhere

almost anywhere in the country, raising doubts about the government's repeated assertions that it was close to winning the 18-year-old civil war. The army responded to the rebel attack with indiscriminate bombing and strafing of the poor sections of San Salvador. Security forces also arrested government critics and detained members of human rights organizations, including Canadian Karen Ridd (page 33). The foreign press was not immune: a *Rebels* correspondent was held for 14 hours before diplomatic intervention secured his release (page 42). And church workers were openly concerned about their safety after numerous detentions and the gruesome murders on Nov. 16 of an Roman Catholic priest (page 44).

In all, the Salvadoran military reported that the rebels fought, since Nov. 11, had claimed the lives of 1,676 rebels and 352 soldiers. These were no official estimates of civilian casualties, although one newspaper reported

on Friday that about 1,500 civilians had been killed or wounded in the new violence. In the United States, following the slaughter of the Jewish guests, protesters in several cities demanded a cutoff in the extensive American aid to El Salvador. But Congress voted not to cut off military aid, and Bush insisted that Salvadoran President Alfredo Cristiani had assured him that his government was not involved in the killings. (Rebels' Bush. "Cristiani would not let us see us a matter of this nature.") Although critics pointed a finger at the policy of the Reagan government, the rebels attacked may be a result of the capital by moving their operations into the crowded civilian neighborhoods.

Provocation. The standoff at the hotel, still known as the Sheraton although it is no longer used by that chain, climaxed an 11-day rebel offensive in the Salvadoran capital that in many of the country's 14 districts. The effectiveness

of that offensive suggested that it had been planned for some time. Its immediate provocation, however, appeared to be the bombing of the downtown headquarters of the leftist National Federation of Salvadoran Union Workers on Oct. 31. Many Salvadorans claim that the bombing, which killed 10 workers and injured about 30 others, was supported by the governing National Republican Alliance party, known by the Spanish acronym ARENA. Rebel leaders, who had been scheduled to meet with govern-

ment. Several observers said that, while the rebels have been successful in throwing both the government and the military off balance, guerrilla leaders were severely disappointed that the country's residents did not rise up in massive support for their cause.

The latest round of fighting reflected guerrillas as a rebel fighting force of an estimated 6,000 to 8,000 guerrillas, but there were few signs that they were weakening in their resolve. Since 1979, they have been

led by Roberto D'Aubisson, widely believed to be the godfather of the right-wing death squads. The results of the past two weeks, including the murders of several news officials and the arrests, have increased doubts about Cristiani's control.

One experienced diplomat in San Salvador said that, during the standoff at the hotel over the evening of Nov. 21, a deal was in the works to get several civilians out with the Red Cross. "Cristiani gave his personal word that a deal would be signed," he added, and said

around 8 to 6 p.m., said the diplomat. But "the army ignored it," he added, and sent helicopters to rocket various buildings behind the hotel. Said Lutz, senior fellow director of the Washington-based Council on Hemispheric Affairs: "The civilian president of El Salvador is a criminal. He signs while the military rules."

Somerville. For El Salvador, Central America's smallest country, which has long been dominated by a wealthy group known as "the 14 families," the battle between economic left- and right-wing factions has intensified in the past decade. In 1978, a cadre of young officers overthrew military President Carlos Humberto Romero and promised reforms that they failed to deliver. They were soon displaced by a right-wing military and civilian junta, and rebels reacted by young guerrilla bands. Then, in March, 1980, in an incident that further polarized the country's left and right, guerrillas allegedly killed 10 U.S. Marines killed Catholic Archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero, an outspoken human rights leader. Meanwhile, the United States, citing alleged Soviet and Cuban arms shipments to the rebels, began supporting the right-wing governments with aid that some has totaled more than \$4 billion.

Death squads. In December, 1980, right-wing death squads were blamed for the brutal murder of three American nuns and a lay worker, and the United States suspended aid. Since then, later, junta co-leader Jose Napoleón Duarte, a Christian Democrat backed by the White House, was named president, and the aid resumed. Although right-wing forces continued, in 1984, after a chaotic series of elections, Duarte became the country's first elected civilian president in more than 60 years.

Four years later, in June, 1984, Duarte was confirmed in a second electoral victory. Then, last March 16, another official led by Cristiani but allegedly with D'Aubisson pulling the strings,



Fleeing the battle in San Miguel, Cristiani (below) estimates of 1,000 civilian casualties

ment officials on Nov. 20 and 21 in Caracas as part of an attempt effort to arrange a ceasefire, cancelled the meetings on Nov. 1, and the offensive began 10 days later.

Casualties. In the last hours after the rebels slipped into San Salvador from their strongholds along the country's northern border, they dug themselves into the remaining shacks in the city's north end. Many built trenches and barbed wire and fortified cafeterias and public sports areas—often caught in the crossfire as a result of an attempt to organize their hit-and-run attacks against government troops. Snipers sniped high apartment buildings to cover the streets below and to defend against snoring or laser planes. Unusually, the fighting stopped to make of the city's poor neighborhoods and, after 10 days, into the affluent Florida dis-

trict. Several observers said that, while the rebels have been successful in throwing both the government and the military off balance, guerrilla leaders were severely disappointed that the country's residents did not rise up in massive support for their cause.

was an active government that was giving the reputation of being moderate.

That reputation is rooted in the image of President Cristiani, 42, as a well-intentioned civilian humanitarian. However, when he was elected on March 18 despite U.S. support for the more extreme Christian Democrats, observers were already questioning whether he could control a party apparently run from behind the scenes by senior



AS FIGHTING RAGED, CONGRESS APPROVED \$105 MILLION IN AID

defeated the Christian Democrats under Fidel Chaves Mesa. Cusaco pledged to open dialogue with the rebels and an end to the death squads. But Americans and remained the key to governing. "Without U.S. assistance," said Robert White, U.S. ambassador to El Salvador from 1977 to 1980, "the El Salvador government would not last more than a few weeks."

Last week, both received fire from that support. At a Republican political rally in Chicago, uninvited guests interrupted an speech by shouting "They are killing people in El Salvador!" Bush aggressively denied the charge. But thousands of Americans remained unconvinced. Several protesters from New York City to San Francisco, the show. Finally came the force for demonstration who marched on streets and college campuses, waving banners and chanting slogans to protest U.S. military aid to El Salvador.

Still, both the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives voted last week to continue to aid \$105 million in annual military aid to El Salvador. Earlier, the White House had promised to speed the delivery of small arms and ammunition equipment to Christian's government.

But the Canadian government, which has agreed to join the 30-nation coalition on Jan. 1 after Canada's refusal to join for 74 years, refused permission to criticize the United States, which has since that organization. Said Richard Gorton, Canada's permanent observer at the UN. "The optics are very bad. Now we are going to turn the White House as we did in the 1930s with that arms-shipment, one in not of great magnitude."

Canadian church representatives, who met with officials in Ottawa last week to discuss the issue, accused the Canadian government of being afraid to condemn Washington. "The key and indispensable step is to stop the U.S. military aid," said Rev. Michael Conway, director of Toronto's Jewish Centre for Social Peace and Justice who received last week from



Rebel soldiers report of a cargo of exiles in a crashed plane

the federal of the slain Jesuit priests in San Salvador. "There is no other solution, and we will not be satisfied with anything less."

Bombs. By the end of last week, some opposition leaders were reporting the bombings. But the sounds of gunfire and bombs



still resonated sporadically in the capital. At the same moment that Congress was declaring it a new indication that the rebels had been defeated, a distant explosion reverberated in the room, causing the president to jump to his feet. At one Western diplomat put it, "This is far from over."

The rebels were widely expected to launch

another offensive early this week. And White House and Salvadoran government charges that they were being resupplied by Nicaragua gained new strength a week-and-a-half. Salvadoran officials said a light plane that had taken off in Nicaragua crashed on October 22 Salvador on

Sanctuary—revealing a cargo of 20 Soviet-made SAM-7 missiles, a U.S.-made Bradley ground-armor, heavy-artillery missile and a 35-ton antitank gun. On Thursday, Christian and army officials had received a call from the rebels for an official ceasefire. "There is no way the army will accept mass take while the guerrillas are still in the capital," said an expert-observer analyst in San Salvador. "Unless the rebels can force them to the table militarily, they will have to fight on to the last of their capacity."

Breakdown. Declaring that the rebels wanted a cessation of fighting only because they had been so badly beaten, the senate-dominated National Assembly considered a bill that would apply draconian measures to reinstate the most simple forms of protest, everything from passing slogans to occupying buildings would be considered a terrorist act punishable by jail terms of up to 30 years.

Many of the crimes seemed as related to the "disappearance or subversion" of public order. "Disturbing public order is distinctly a matter of interpretation," said one human rights official in San Salvador. "That would give the government great leeway in deciding who to punish." In fact, said Rafael Azuaga, the country's top leftist political leader, "The repression is not coming to an already here. The killings of the priests were the beginning. The assassins, all of the apparatus—we're all being targeted."

Other countries could try to intervene. In 1987, leaders of five Central American nations signed a regional peace accord—by which Costa Rican President Oscar Arias later won a Nobel Prize—that called for a ceasefire and subsequent peace talks. Those countries could pressure Guatemala to return to the negotiating table if the rebels regroup and resume, and continue battling the army successfully. But only the United States, and Mexico, could exert the kind of influence that would stop government repression.

GLENN W. TYLOR and JOSEPH GANNON in San Salvador WILLIAM LOFTWORTH in Washington and ADAM MCKENZIE in Ottawa

HAZARDOUS DUTY A MACLEAN'S REPORTER IN DETENTION



Government troops during combat in San Salvador, Guatemalan (below): 14 hours of fear

Maclean's Correspondent Joseph Gannon has been reporting from Central America for the past two years. Based in Managua, Nicaragua, he has covered the conflict in El Salvador, including the military offensive by leftist rebels. Last week Gannon (23) was detained by Salvadoran security forces in the capital, San Salvador, and accused of being a "suspected terrorist collaborator." He insists of his denial.

A week on the most spectacular guerrilla offensive in nine years. I joined early, if unknowingly, through army lines into the rebel-held part of San Salvador, a large working-class area of modern brick houses and concrete stairs. I intended only to make a quick inspection of the changing military situation. But I found myself surrounded by fierce combat, including machine-gun mauling and strafing by army helicopters and with a strict 6 p.m. curfew approaching. I decided to spend the night on the rebel side. At about 7 a.m. the next morning, Nov. 18, I walked nervously toward army lines, holding my white flag high, my camera bag suspended from my neck. As I turned a street corner, I ran into an air force military unit. "You! You come here!" shouted

one of the soldiers. "We are looking for longer macronics fighting with the terrorists!" It was the beginning of 14 hours of hell in a country where terror tactics—including grotesque murders—were a notorious fact of life. While the rebels of the Farabundo Martí National



front Liberation Front have shown themselves capable of extreme brutality, another number and brutality the modern soldiers. El Salvador's security forces are the staff of nightmares. As a Western diplomat had told me, "If Maclean had been in the age of the M-16 rifle, El Salvador would have made a great laboratory for him."

As the soldiers searched my belongings for proof that I was a terrorist, the simple tools of my trade took on ominous meanings. My camera was too bulky to carry, so I left it with my associates. A diagram of a cell block at the Treasury Palace, drawn by Canadian Liberation minister Brian Rule, which bore the caption "three days after, could well be taken for a city block with targets marked off. And several of my personal identification cards, supplied by the Salvadoran armed forces, had expired. Of course the army was too busy fighting the rebels to issue new ones, but when I explained that to the officers in charge, in handing the card in my face as a warning of my nonexistence in the future.

Later, a soldier from the Toluca military battalion walked up, looking agitated and tired. He drew his knife with a weak motion that made my knees go weak and used the point to hit up my shirt. "Where are your tattoos? Where are your tattoos?" he demanded. Apparently, some foreigner with tattoos was reported to be with the rebels. And while I had no tattoos, I wondered what would have happened if I had, while serving in the U.S. army in 1965. I had given in a tattoo of a woman's face, a symbol of my love. Would that have been enough to plunge me into the steps that has swallowed so many Salvadorans?

The soldiers also examined my two notebooks, stamping at a page with the name "Fidel Castro." I signed "Joseph Gannon." I had interviewed three days before in the highest-ranking rebel community in San Salvador, and his name in my notebook seemed another case for loss. At one point, one of the soldiers forced me down on my stomach behind a wall out of view of a passing tank. The tank moved, and I asked the question that had been weighing on my mind: "Are you going to kill me?" The soldier was apparently startled by my question, and I repeated the question "No," he answered but I was barely restrained.

Blackface. At about 10 p.m., in a court yard of an army soldiers took me to a bellows-outpost further up a hill. To get there I was forced to run through sniper fire. I protested that they could not do that to me in combat, and they eventually allowed me onto the floor of an armed guard. The guard dropped his flashlight on my chest and ordered, "Hold my gun." The guard promptly took three hits in a snap-

er, but we made it to the helio's output. There, I began to relax as the soldiers offered me cigarettes and we swapped army stories. But the respite was short-lived. At about 1:30 p.m., the Nicaraguan Police arrived on the outskirts of me. They forced me against a car, handcuffed me behind my back and tossed me in the backseat of their pickup truck. One of them grabbed my white flag—my old symbol of neutrality—and contemptuously threw it to the ground. Then, a policeman blindfolded me and forced my head between my hands.

Enraged: At National Police headquarters, I was relieved of the handcuffs and blindfold. "Just proceed," said a police captain, apolo-

gizing. As I walked inside, a grim-faced policeman entered the post and sat down between me and two blindfolded, quaking prisoners. Lowering his rifle to my chest, he demanded, "Why do all you North American journalists come here to write clandestinely with the terrorists?" It was not an original line: state radio broadcasts had broadcast the foreign press corps as Communist sympathizers.

I was now truly terrified and clung desperately to what I reported as my only hope—that the Sandinista fire draper had opened the door when I failed to turn from what was intended to be a short trip into the Soyapango district about 20 hours earlier. And I turned out, he had

used my gunnery, and, when he stood aside, Dave, armed National Police officers charged in. A lieutenant said they were just making a "register" of all the journalists in the hotel. "Just proceed," he ordered me. But he clearly had more interest in stretching my legs than that taking down my name. I could feel my pulse returning, and it intensified when the messenger whispered that the police had arrived thinking I was still in jail at the Treasury Police. But the monetary crisis ended when some 300 fellow journalists arrived outside my room, cluttering up, and the three policemen left sleepily, their caps pulled down over their faces.

On Thursday afternoon, my ordeal reached



Civilians leaving an area of heavy fighting. 'Come here,' a soldier shouted. 'We are looking for foreign mercenaries'

going. He then told me that I would be given a "paraffin test" to check for gunpowder residues on my hands, indicating whether I had been firing a weapon. The police put her nose on the back of my hands, and when it cooled they took a coat of the hands and applied a chemical to it. If there was gunpowder on the skin, it would change color. The hours passed, during which I was kept in a holding area, and no one told me the results of the test. Given my proximity to the intense fighting the previous day, I was left to wonder whether I had somehow picked up gunpowder traces and failed the test.

Finally, at 4:30 p.m., I was told a truck would take me to my hotel or the U.S. Embassy. But when my plane/office was stopped their vehicle a few minutes later, we were in front of a guard post of the dreaded Treasury Police, one of the most brutal of El Salvador's security forces. It was there that an American official, who had been detained earlier and was later released, said that the soldier had heard a Frenchman in the cell next to him being beaten unconscious because he had failed the gunpowder test.

And my friends and colleagues had been working furiously on my behalf through the U.S. and British embassies to force the security forces to acknowledge that they were holding me. Finally, a corporal called me to the phone. The voice was that of U.S. consul Brian Raiten, and tears welled up in my eyes when I heard him. It was after curfew, he said, and he was loath to venture out. "But don't worry, Joe," he told me. "They know I know you are there, and nothing horrible will happen. The corporal will protect you, and I'll be there first thing in the morning."

Detained: Somehow, I was not exactly surprised, especially when my personal protector among the Treasury Police went off duty and was replaced by a rusty stranger. Two hours later, however, a colonel came in and ordered that four troops take me to the British residence, where, at 9:30 p.m., I was left on the custody of the head of the mission, Sir Murray. I was finally free.

But the incident was not quite over. On Monday night, back at my hotel, the door to my room suddenly opened. The hotel manager had

its slightly absurd ending. Four days after I had been gruffly treated by government security forces, I was invited to the presidential palace to meet President Alfredo Cruzado and U.S. Ambassador Wilbert Walker. Two hours after the foreign press association went also present. Cruzado assured us that no foreign nationals would be harassed by authorities because of denunciations by other people and that he would look into the radio broadcasts that had posted anonymously in the foreign press corps.

I was hit with contradictory networks and one particular memory: snippets of my release were given to me by Murray, the British diplomat. I had been detained, it said, for "implication of collaboration with terrorist elements in this country." Said Murray: "That'll make a nice souvenir." And it will. But I decided that, because of the potential for further police harassment, I would leave my name in the acknowledgment of a friend until I leave El Salvador. It is not the last of things I want to keep secret. □

ISN'T IT NICE TO HAVE A HOBBY.





Rude (left) welcomed home at Calgary airport: colleagues 'wagged in hell'

FEAR IN THE MIDST OF WAR

THE ARMY DETAINS CHURCH WORKERS

In most instances, churches are places of sanctuary—in El Salvador, they have become places of surgery. Last week, armed men attacked the Roman Catholic Jesuit university in the country's capital of San Salvador, murdering six priests and two students. Since then, government security forces have raided churches and detained at least 60 church workers, many of them foreigners, according to the human rights group Americas Watch. Only hours after the Jesuits were murdered, 18 other foreigners were detained by military guardsmen who stormed a Lutheran church in San Salvador. Blake, who was released a day later on the condition that he leave the country, said last week that he fears security forces are preparing for a wave of repression. "I have no escape route," he said before leaving El Salvador, tears welling in his eyes. "But I feel I am leaving my Salvadoran colleagues trapped in hell."

Some members of the armed forces and the

country's ruling National Republican Alliance (DERA) party have branded church workers as leftist subversives because churches have advocated better living conditions for the poor and defended the rights of peasants and workers to form unions and grassroots organizations. But Alfredo Gutiérrez, who was elected president in March, told *Maclean's* last week that the arrests taken against church workers in recent weeks were "due to the extreme fluidity of the situation" as leftist rebels battled government forces throughout the country. And he said that "at no time was [their] religious pervasiveness." Gutiérrez added that his purpose is a thorough investigation into the killings of the six Jesuit priests.

Conciliatory: The Catholic church in El Salvador has historically been allied with the country's landed gentry. To the poor, it preached passive acceptance of life's difficulties and hope for the afterlife. But in the 1980s, church workers, especially younger priests in the countryside, began speaking up for the

rights of the poor. By 1987, when Oscar Acosta Romero was appointed archbishop, some unknown groups began circulating leaflets with the slogan "Be a priest, kill a priest." Romero himself had been considered a conservative. But human rights activists by right wing death squads, including the murder of one of Romero's close friends, clearly had an impact on the archbishop. In his weekly sermons and writings, Romero became increasingly strident, denouncing the government and military for failing to halt the activities of death squads. In March, 1989, a day after he issued an appeal to soldiers to disobey "unjust" orders from their commanders, Romero was assassinated. His killer has never been apprehended.

The Christian Democratic government of José Napoleón Duarte, in power from 1984 until Cristiani assumed the presidency earlier this year, pledged to implement social programs such as land reform. And Romero's successor, Archbishop Arturo Rivera y Damas, was less critical of the government during that period. Meanwhile, church members continued to work with the poor, helping communities set up food co-operatives, building up preventive health care and assisting people to rebuild houses destroyed in the civil war.

But human rights groups say that abuses have increased since the right-wing extreme party came to power. And last week Rivera y Damas said that there was a "strong indication" that the six Jesuits had been murdered "by members of the armed forces or people in intimate connection with them."

Harassment: Although 90 per cent of the country's five million population is Catholic, the Lutheran, Episcopalian, Methodist and Baptist churches are also active and have been the targets of harassment. On Nov. 28, armed national guardsmen arrested 17 people, including seven foreigners, at the San Juan Evangelista Episcopalian Church in San Salvador. And during Blake's detention, a Treasury Police officer accused the Lutheran church of collaborating with leftist rebels. A soft-spoken 35-year-old who has volunteered as an ambulance driver for the past year, Blake firmly denied the charge.

Rev. Michael Corry, a Jesuit priest from Toronto who attended the funeral of the slain Jesuit in San Salvador on Nov. 28, said that the military appeared to be deliberately targeting foreigners over the past two weeks. Added Corry: "People are terribly afraid that this is part of a strategy to get foreigners out of the country and then, when the coast is clear, to unleash retaliation on the population." But the Catholic auxiliary bishop in San Salvador, Gregorio Rosa Chávez, told *Maclean's* that the government and military could not wait in an effort to arrange a ceasefire. And he insisted that "roads are still open" for negotiations to end the conflict. Clearly, church leaders intend to face the potentially fatal dangers involved in remaining at the centre of the violence in El Salvador.

MARK SORRETT and JOSEPH GANNON
in San Salvador

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UNDER SUSPICION

A PEACE ACTIVIST'S CHILLING EXPERIENCE

For 13 nerve-racking hours last week, Karen Rold sat, not knowing whether she would live or tell the tale. Requested by Salvadorean authorities of asking left-wing rebels against the U.S.-backed right-wing government, the 26-year-old human rights activist from Winnipeg was abducted, along with six other foreigners, by national guards and later physically and verbally abused by the Treasury Police, known mostly for their brutality. Rold showed remarkable courage throughout the ordeal: at one point, she even refused to leave jail unless a female colleague from Colombia was also freed. But, with the help of Canadian Embassy officials, both women were eventually released and quickly fled the country.

During a stopover in San Francisco last Thursday on her way home to a joyful family reunion in Winnipeg, Rold told Marlene that her frightening experience paled in comparison to the repression and violence that many Salvadoreños face each day. "Obviously, it was mistreated," she said, "but, in the global scale of things, of how Salvadoreños are treated, it's almost embarrassing to complain."

Rold, Rold's school began shortly before 8 a.m. on Nov. 20, when armed national guardsmen raided the San Juan Evangelista Episcopal Church in the capital, San Salvador. She had been serving as a volunteer nurse last February with Peace Brigades International, a human rights organization that sends "witnesses" to countries where there has been large-scale violence or threats against segments of the population. And since her recent



Rold in Winnipeg: 'cries of people being tortured'

dissident. Throughout the questioning, Rold said that she heard "the screams and cries of other people who were being tortured."

At about 5:30 p.m., a policeman told Rold that she was free to leave. "I told them that I would not go until Marlene was released," she said. Policemen escorted her to an interrogation room, where they again beat Rold and handcuffed her. She later learned, Rold said that she thought, "Oh God, what have I done!"

After several policemen expressed their surprise at her decision to return, Rold told them that, like a soldier, she believed it commendable, out of obedience, a forced to return. "There was a moment of silence in the room," said Rold, "and then they said that they understood."

Rold was then led out to a corridor and saw

her colleague, Rodriguez-Diaz. Next, the two women were taken to where they thought was a cold jail cell. But when their headlamps were removed, they instead found themselves in a parking lot outside the jail. It was just the night of 6 p.m., cold. A policeman drove them to a hotel, where they were both released. Rold said that she did not know the fate of the Guatemalan detainees left behind. At week's end, the 13 Salvadorean church workers who were also arrested had not been released.

Detained: The path that led Rold from her safe, middle-class home in Winnipeg to the dingy prison and impoverished town of San Salvador was paved by her parents. For several years, her father, Carl, a professor of religious studies at the University of Winnipeg, and her mother, Beverly, have been helping refugees from Central America to settle in Canada. Rold's sister Laurel, 36, and brother Brian, 33, also are involved in human rights activities in Winnipeg. As the youngest child, Karen Rold said that she was greatly influenced by her family's dedication to social causes.

After graduating from the University of Winnipeg, where she studied English literature, Rold became Robo the Clown, entertaining young patients at the Children's Hospital in Winnipeg. Following a two-week trip to Nicaragua in 1984, Rold decided to put her beliefs in social justice to work in Central America. She joined Peace Brigades International, going first to Guatemala in 1984 and, last February, to El Salvador. As a volunteer, she received no money and lived on about \$40 a month for the other 40 days of her work.

After last Thursday night, Rold returned to Winnipeg, to the warm embraces of family and friends. But, would that the Salvadorean government would drive all her go, Rold said, and thought, "Oh God, what have I done!"

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Rold was then led out to a corridor and saw

ANDREW BULKE with MARLENE RODRIGUEZ-DIAZ in Winnipeg

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four-wheel disc brakes, power steering, rear seat heater, rear split doors, and a rear window wiper/washer/delugger, and an AM/FM stereo cassette.

Of course, the list could run deeper. But we'd rather leave that to the snow.



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PEOPLE

AN EXPENSIVE DATE

Canadian actor David Elliott says that he is "happy" being a bachelor, but adds that he is willing to give a wild date—for a good price. Last week, one fan bid \$5,000 to have a champagne dinner and attend a Paul McCartney concert with the handsome star of the CBC tv series *Street Legal*. The Milton, Ont.-born actor was one of 64 bachelors who went on an auction block in Toronto as part of a fundraising event that raised \$300,000 for the Multiple Sclerosis Society of Canada. For his part, Elliott, 39, said that he can't provide his buyer one "fun evening." But he warned, "I'm not looking for a wife."



Elliott: champagne and Paul McCartney



Stop, in the name of love

American author J. Randy Taraborrelli maintains that he has been Diana Ross's greatest admirer for 33 years. But he only revealed his admiration about his oddball *Call After Me* after Ross is hardly a fan letter. Taraborrelli, 33, who said that he has been following Ross's career since he was 16 and started her fan club four years later, writes that the superstar is "unfathomable" and forbids employees to address her by her first name. He also writes that Ross, 45, insists that concert promoters coordinate her dressing room and pay for bodyguards who must drive only in black. "She's Taraborrelli," he writes, "who alone does a certain lack of grace."

Ross: "unfathomable"

Royal relief

At the age of 7, Prince William has triggered his first royal scandal. Last week, *The Province* in British Columbia leaked a picture of William relaxing, dressed outdoors with the caption: "Wile's kip you in park." With that breach of etiquette on his school grounds, the little prince unwittingly found himself at the center of a royal controversy. In an angry statement, his parents, Prince Charles and Diana, called the picture "insensitive and inappropriate." The *Province* published an apology and fired the editor. In return, the prince's parents issued a little reprimand.



Prince William: breach of etiquette

PREDICTIONS OF SCANDAL

For Nancy Reagan, the future portends revenge and scandal, according to Joan Quigley, her onetime astrologer. Quigley's publisher, Steven Schrago, says that the San Francisco-based astrologer is so filled that in Reagan's recently released *My Turn*, the former first lady belittled Quigley's influence on the Reagan administration. "While astrology was a factor in determining Rose's schedule, it was never the only one," writes Reagan. But Schrago said that Quigley is continuing by writing *What Did Joan Say? My Seven Years as a White House Astrologer* to Nancy and Ronald Reagan, which tells of her power over the former first family. "Joan is angry that Nancy discovered her," said Schrago. "It seems Joan told the Reagans who to see and where to see them." Reagan is declining comment. It seems that, this time, Reagan is leaving her fate entirely to the stars.

Canadian writers a breed apart

Canadian Margaret Atwood says that she selected the 20 stories for the 1989 edition of *The Best American Short Stories* without knowing who the writers were. "The names were all asked out," she explained. But Atwood, the first

Canadian to edit *North America's* best-selling annual anthology of Canadian and American short stories, acknowledged that she was not writing completely in the dark. The 50-year-old author, who chose four Canadian stories for the collection, said that it was easy for her to

Atwood: "names asked out"



identify almost all of the Canadian authors, even though she had not previously read many of the stories that they submitted. She added that there were other obvious clues. Said Atwood, referring to Mavis Galland's story *The Concert Party*: "It was highly unlikely that an American would write about a young lad from Saskatchewan."

WAITING FOR CHRISTMAS

The contest was starting last week, as United States retailers locked off their usual Christmas sales season, shoppers crowded into the mall. H. Macy & Co. department store was downtown Manhattan, where they pulled to get first choice of the perfumes and fashions on the store's block-long first floor. Only two blocks away, at the glittering two-month-old Nordstrom & Straus (NAS) department store, owned by Canadian entrepreneur Robert Campeau, Christmas merchandise was on display amid glittering holiday decorations, but the crowds were far thinner than at its rival, Macy's. Yet even if crowds of shoppers seal Campeau's sales, starting at NAS, Campeau's beleaguered empire approaches the end of the year perilous period on the edge of collapse.

Although the company still carries his name, the volatile Seafair, one-time French-Canadian with the famous Christmas-carol arm has lost control of the future of Campeau Corp., the retail and real estate conglomerate he started 60 years ago in September, after days of betting to fuel a solution. Campeau effectively surrendered control of his deeply troubled company in return for a \$300-million rescue loan from Toronto's influential Redburn family. Campeau Corp.'s new four-year management committee, which includes its longtime founder, is now wrestling with a crumbling and growing \$1-billion debt that Campeau ran up buying two of North America's largest department-store conglomerates—Mall Stores Corp. in 1986 and Federated Department Stores Inc. in 1988. And last week, amid mounting speculation that North American retail sales would remain flat or barely climb after a decline during the festive season, Campeau's troubles deepened.

ROBERT CAMPEAU NEEDS STRONG HOLIDAY SALES TO PRESERVE HIS TROUBLED U.S. RETAILING EMPIRE

For one thing, his California-based supermarket chain, Rite-Grocery Co., reported a \$20 million loss for the nine months ending Dec. 6. For another, shares in Campeau Corp. remained around \$4.82 last Friday, compared to the 12-month high of \$52 per share in September.

Campeau Corp. is now trying to persuade lenders like J.P. Morgan & Co. to sell off some of

the company's most prized assets, including the gleam Bloomingdale's department store chain, part of the Federated group. But even that may not be enough to restore the shaky confidence of Campeau's creditors and suppliers, many of whom only reluctantly agreed to stock shelves and Federated stores with Christmas goods last Harry's, an analyst with Toronto investment house McKean McCarty Ltd. "The company has a rocky road ahead of it."

Despite the trouble, last week, in the dramatic glass and mirrored stream that Campeau built for NAS to anchor its surrounding state-of-the-art shopping center, workers were busy assembling a gold-and-red velvet stage for a planned appearance by a Christmas band. As they did, the store's first seven floors—most others crowded—were slowly filled from floor to floor. And on some of the store's floors, there were some empty storefronts that related news, suggesting that Campeau may be facing a hard time holiday season for the Christmas season.

As investors were slowly picking up at NAS, the store

was very different at Bloomingdale's. Campeau's top-of-the-line store, where the crowds at Christmas shoppers were just as thick as those at Macy's. But Kert Berner, editor of the influential *Bloomberg's Retail Marketing Report* "The Bloomingdale's store in Manhattan is another story altogether. They have been very promotional, with a lot of things on sale. But they have played their sales program very carefully so that the profit margins will remain high."

And in the busy U.S. Christmas buying season began, Campeau seemed to have weathered its most immediate and potentially crippling crisis. The company's acute cash shortage had moved concerns that Allied and Federated stores would be unable to keep their shelves stocked with merchandise during the critical Christmas period, when U.S. retailers make more than half of their annual sales. But last week, even though it appeared to have lower customer than Macy's, the six-flagship department store, as did nearby Bloomingdale's. And the company was confident enough about its ability to maintain inventories that it dropped plans to order letters of credit to merchandise suppliers. Said Allied and Federated spokespersons Cool Spector: "We are getting almost all the merchandise we need in our stores, so that the plan for the letters of credit is not needed."

Even so, the mood of Campeau's suppliers remains highly guarded. Some clothing manufacturers said they are concerned that they may not be paid for goods shipped in future to Allied and Federated stores. Although suppliers have advanced orders for goods to Campeau's stores, Richard Foster, executive vice president for Cinde Exchange Inc., a New York-based credit service, said, "There is a healthy strong sense of supply to the business with Allied and Federated."

Other retailers are experiencing an uncertain Christmas as well. Regional chain store in Virginia's Miller & Rhoads Inc. and Atlanta-based L.J. Bricker Corp. Inc.'s B. Altman & Co. and Boston's Teller department have been forced into bankruptcy filing because they have been unable to service their large debts. And a number of other U.S. chains, including women's Saks Fifth Avenue and venerable Marshall Field & Co., have either been sold or are on the auction block.

And there is a growing concern among suppliers that a widely predicted economic downturn could dampen U.S. consumer confidence and spending. Building 1989 sales close to 1988 levels. Even if sales do climb, they are expected to rise just slightly above the inflation rate. Janet Mangano, head of research at New York investment house Joseph E. Seitz & Co. Inc., predicted that total sales at the United States will climb 4.7 percent—no net sales rise per cent in real terms, given the 3.5 percent rate of inflation in the retail industry—is \$3.96 trillion for



Shoppers at Bloomingdale's: 'This company has a rocky road ahead of it'

WALL STREET LAYOFFS

Merrill Lynch & Co., the largest U.S. bond retail underwriter, is expected to announce a major restructuring, which will likely result in 1,000 to 1,500 layoffs, says its 40,500 employees around the world, including 1,500 in Merrill Lynch Canada Inc. Kerkas at the stock, second-ranked Shearman Latham Hoffman Inc. says laying off 800 employees.

NEIGHES WING A PLUM

Federal Transport Minister Ronell Bowdell announced that Hughes Aircraft of Canada Ltd., a newly created subsidiary of Los Angeles-based Hughes Aircraft Co., has awarded a \$280-million government contract to manufacture a new generation of computerized vehicle-control equipment for Canada's major airports. Hughes chairman Malcolm Cowie said that more than 50 per cent of the work will be done in Canada.

COMPLEX SHARES TUMBLE

The price of Cansco-Dominion Corp. shares plummeted to a 52-week low of \$10.35 on the Toronto Stock Exchange, reflecting investors' doubts that the company's complex share structure, Cansco-Dominion, will be able to raise the close to \$1 billion needed to finance its proposed \$15.40-per-share takeover bid.

MERILEX SWEETENS ITS OFFER

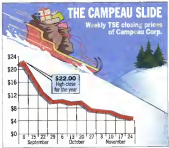
In an effort to sweeten its takeover offer, Merilex has increased its offer to \$1.50 per share, from \$1.40. Merilex is a Canadian company that is a subsidiary of the U.S. company Merilex Inc. Merilex is a Canadian company that is a subsidiary of the U.S. company Merilex Inc. Merilex is a Canadian company that is a subsidiary of the U.S. company Merilex Inc.

CABLE NETWORK FOR SALE

Canada's 582-largest cable television operator, Toronto-based Cablevision Ltd., announced that it will sell off its Canadian cable network in order to expand its assets in Great Britain. Analysts estimated that the network, which serves 316,000 paying subscribers in Calgary, Winnipeg, Toronto and several other communities, could fetch close to \$150 million.

LAWFIRM SEESKIS DEBT RELIEF

Lawfirm Transpacific Ltd., the profitable but debt-ridden Burlington, Ont.-based waste-management and school-bus manufacturing firm, announced a plan to raise \$115 million worth of new shares. Proceeds from the sale, which follows a successful \$500-million share offering last March, will be used to reduce its \$1.5-billion debt.



Sailing close to the wind

Alan Bond struggles to avert a financial collapse

For Australia's small cadre of high-stakes entrepreneurial entrepreneurs, it has been an autumn of brutal defeats. Last month, Robert Asner's Australian Budget Boat & Car Systems empire collapsed and now in the hands of a liquidator. In October, Christopher Skase's Qantas Australia Ltd., a media and resorts conglomerate, which unsuccessfully led \$1.1 billion for 50-MHz Communications last summer, also went into receivership. And now, in one of the most severe crises in Australian business history, Alan Bond, the flamboyant 55-year-old former real estate and media magnate who captured Australia—and the world's—heart in 1983 by becoming the first non-American to win the coveted Australia Cup yacht race, is struggling desperately to avoid the same fate.

Last week, the pressure on Bond intensified as the Australian Stock Exchange suspended trading in Bond Corp Holdings Ltd. and a subsidiary after the companies failed to submit annual reports on time. Bond, who famously avoided bankruptcy in 1975, has survived setbacks before. But, in recent weeks, the outlook has been



Bond accepting the Cup trophy

particularly grim. On Nov. 14, the long-awaited annual report for Bond Corp., which includes the internationally successful Swan brand, revealed that its combined debt was an astonishing \$7.2 billion for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1988. The company also reported a preliminary loss of \$835.7 million, the worst in Australian corporate history. In a lengthy qualification at the end of the report, auditors from the multinational accounting firm Arthur Andersen and Co. expressed "substantial doubt" that Bond's flagship Bond Corp. "could continue in a going concern."

In the past, Bond's penchant for risk-taking and large-scale borrowing has paid big rewards. The son of English immigrant parents, who arrived in Perth in 1950 when he was 12, Bond began his career by apprenticing as a sign writer when he was 17. Two years later, with the help of a bank loan, he boldly started his own property development business, and by the time he reached 25 he was a millionaire.

He soon began investing more heavily in property, and over the next three decades he added a lucrative array of interests and real estate, banking companies, and even more commercial real estate in his Perth-based bond business, often by acquiring large amounts of debt. In 1975, however, Bond's borrowing brought him to the brink of bankruptcy after a disastrous bid for the Robt. River Mines, an iron-ore mining company in Western Australia. But Australia's unit trust gave him sufficient time to restructure his \$75-million debt.

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Plan

rents in Australia, analysts argue that the style that brought Bond success in the early years could prove his undoing in the much larger international arena where he now plays. "He has always ruled his companies pretty close to the vest," said Terry Miller, a professor of finance at the Graduate School of Management at the University of Sydney. "But he kept on wheeling and dealing at a time when he should have been consolidating."

Bond's headlong plunge into international high finance began in earnest after his spectacular American Cigar win at Newport, R.I., in 1963. In the two years following that victory, Bond Corp.'s assets nearly doubled to approximately \$116 million from \$45 million. Then, in 1967, he spent more than \$5 million in poorly borrowed funds to buy Australia's Channel Nine television network, a controlling position in Cable's national phone company and the U.S.-based G. Heileman Brewing Co. Inc. After surviving the stock-market crash of October, 1987, Bond showed the art world by purchasing Vincent van Gogh's *Portrait* for \$12 million, the highest price ever paid for a painting. He bought the painting with the help of a \$36-million loan from Seabury's off-shore New York City unit he still owns a portion of that loan.

By 1988, those acquisitions had already started to stretch Bond Corp.'s capacity to the limit. But Bond continued to disregard warnings of many of his investors and forged ahead with his international buying spree. Despite advice that the company was overvalued, Bond continued to bring a \$5.4-per-ounce stake in the giant U.S. Bond issuing services and newspaper conglomerate Laclede P.C. Inc. for approximately \$500 million. On a whim, he bought the St. Moritz Hotel in New York's luxurious Central Park south area for \$200 million.

Now analysts say that Bond may appear his bankers to order to survive, but that task is becoming increasingly difficult as his debt problems—now requiring almost \$1 billion annually in interest payments alone—continue to mount. To reduce the growing interest charges, Bond recently cutback a complex payment plan to slash his debt load to \$2.2 billion by June, 1990. The plan calls for him to pay back \$2.7 billion worth of bonds and debentures now trading in the United States and Europe, but at less than their original value. As well as generate enough cash to reduce that debt, he will have to sell a 50-percent stake in his lucrative Australia-based Sero and Craftsmen Tackery breweries, makers of Craftsmen XXXX, as well as some of his radio stations and the St. Moritz Hotel.

Despite the daunting threats to his empire, Bond remains outwardly confident. In October, in a rare interview with the *Sydney Morning Herald*, Bond boasted that he has "been in business for a long, long time, and I expect to be there for at least as many years again." But, even with his proven abilities as financial juggler, making good on that prediction will undoubtedly be Bond's biggest challenge to date.

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A \$5-billion Canadian solution

BY PETER C. NORMAN

While the dream of international politics is now on Central Europe, the flow of global investment funds continues to be dominated by the burgeoning economies of the Pacific Basin, with Canada a more southerly destination. A particularly true case has been a resurgence of investment funds turned Hong Kong into something of a temporary holding tank for flight capital eager to cross the Pacific in the search for safer, long-term returns.

Li Ka-shing, the British colony's most successful capitalist, has been setting the trend investing in Canadian companies and projects since 1967, but according to Simon Murray, chief executive officer of the 120 companies in Li's investment empire, that's only a beginning. "More than three-quarters of our assets are still in Hong Kong," I was told by the 48-year-old Murray during a recent interview, "and while Hong Kong will remain a strong base, we are outgrowing our efforts as more of a multinational corporation, with particular interest in Canada and the United Kingdom."

Li is the first Chinese businessman to become a "major"—the head of one of Hong Kong's negotiating houses, known as "hoys" which dominate the island colony's economy. He personally controlled firm, Hutchison Whampoa Ltd., established by a British businessman in 1824, is the largest of these conglomerates. Revenue recently estimated Li's personal wealth at \$3 billion and the entire worth of his companies at more than \$16 billion. The organization run by Murray generates net profits of \$1 billion per year.

Before 1980, 86 per cent of the Hutchison investments were in Hong Kong with only 26 per cent abroad. "In the next few years," says Murray, "we will probably achieve a fifty-fifty mix." On the basis of past performance and current prospects, that could mean at least another \$5 billion from Li Ka-shing's deep pockets may be heading for Canadian shores.

The company remains an overwhelming in-

One reason that Canada is the main investment target abroad for Hong Kong's Li Ka-shing is the U.S. lack of receptivity

fluence within Hong Kong. Its various operational subsidiaries account for 77 per cent of the local stock market's share value. Among many other assets, it owns half the local real estate port (the world's busiest), 250 supermarkets, the 1000 sports equipment franchise, the Shatin and Yikau hotels and most of Hong Kong's electric power generation and distribution facilities. As well, it currently has 50 major real estate projects under development in Hong Kong. In the next five years, Hutchison Whampoa has committed \$5 billion to various Hong Kong expansion projects, including construction of 50,000 apartments. But the colony may no longer be large enough or safe enough to ensure its future. The company is now diversifying in the event that after 1997—the year the colony's ownership reverts back to the mainland Chinese—Hong Kong ceases to be a suitable base for Li's vast empire.

"With just 4.4 million people, Hong Kong is a small market, and that sets limits to our size," Murray points out. "The extent of that success impacted significantly on the world's perception of Hong Kong, and there are plenty of glossy graphics predicting its downfall, wondering how a company as firmly rooted here will survive."

Canada will be a significant part of the solution. The most visible part of Li Ka-shing's Canadian empire, run loosely by his sons Victor and Richard, both of whom have taken out Canadian citizenship, is control of Calgary's huge Wasko Oil Ltd., the country's third-largest oil firm, with 380 service stations and an average daily production of 85,000 barrels of oil and 200 million cubic feet of natural gas. Sixteen months ago, Wasko acquired, for \$400 million, ownership of Centerra Energy Inc. of Calgary, previously a subsidiary company with eight oil and refinery buildings, Shell Refinery, the chairman of Calgary-based Ross Corp. and Simon Murray as co-chairman of the two companies. "Centerra is a very good fit," says Murray. "Our combined assets in Canadian energy are now \$4.5 billion, and we feel pretty comfortable at that level."

Li Ka-shing also has extensive real estate holdings in Canada, notably Toronto's Harbour Centre World hotel and the \$8-billion Pacific Place development on the former Expo 86 site in downtown Vancouver. (That multi-use development project—major enough to alter the nation's economic priority of downtown Vancouver—will finance itself almost entirely from its own cash flow.) As a real estate titan, a strategist behind the deal negotiated by the Dutch trader Peter Mout, who purchased Manhattan Island from the Indians for Li also owns a 14 per cent stake in the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce, which, in current market levels, means an investment of about \$55 million.

One reason Canada has proven so attractive and remains Li's main overseas investment target is that the United States has not been particularly receptive to his advances. "America is quite a difficult place for outsiders to enter," Murray complains. "We looked at some energy deals there, but their attitude seems to be, 'Good deals don't leave Texas,' so there's not much opportunity for negotiation. The Americans put just a proposition on the table, discuss it, and the highest bidder gets it. That's not the way we like to do business."

"Canada on the other hand," he says, "has always seemed to us a very open and welcoming place, especially for people from Hong Kong, and if you've got money to put abroad, you tend to start where you feel comfortable. On top of that, you're adjacent to the world's largest consumer market, now accessible through your Free Trade Agreement."

Unlike some Hong Kong investors, Murray is not one of the few based here created by the heavy influx of Chinese funds in Vancouver. "It's not just a recent thing," he told me, "it's people being afraid of foreigners coming in to take their place. I think it's more common than most people think. But I'm very sympathetic to the feelings about the outsiders because we're security of their assets, and we've got a lot of data and we handle ourselves carefully. If you want to drive a peak Rolls-Royce, make a lot of noise and smoke big fat cigars, you may upset people." The second of Li Ka-shing's essential Canadian investment means a partner, but neither Li nor Simon Murray will be driving peak Rolls-Royces or smoking big cigars.

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Dangerous waters

Pollution shuts down B.C. shellfish areas

Almost exactly a year ago federal officials ordered a portion of the commercial shellfish fishery in Howe Sound just north of Vancouver, closed. The reason: poisonous substances, including potentially deadly dioxin and furans, found in the shellfish exceeded safe limits. Then, June, Ontario's department of fisheries and aquaculture ordered the closure to cover all of Howe Sound's shellfishery, including prawns, crabs and oysters. Last week, Ottawa extended the ban to the entire Strait of Georgia—which affected a relatively small part of the province's coastal waters—but shellfishery in nearly all areas adjacent to pulp-and-paper mills on British Columbia's coast. Said Brian Killean, an organizer for the United Fisheries and Allied Workers' Union, "What they are doing is creating fishermen-fishers instead of pollution-free areas."

Experts said that shellfish contamination was the result of the chlorine bleaching process used to treat wood pulp in B.C. mills. The process produces a discarded soup of at least 1,000 toxic compounds, including dioxins and furans. According to scientists, they can cause cancer and birth defects in humans. Because the chemical sink to the ocean bottom, they tend to be eaten by bottom-feeding creatures like clams and crabs. Officials and fish in the affected areas were still safe for human consumption.

The latest closures brought criticism from environmentalists, who have insisted in the past that government has been too tolerant of pollution by B.C. pulp mills. Said Brian Killean, a marine biologist who works for the environmental organization Greenpeace, "The closures indicate that the problem is getting worse and is spreading." Dan Lawrence, director, manager of Environment Canada's largest products program office in Vancouver, said that since the provincial government revealed proposed new legislation in May, pulp mills in

the province had reduced toxic discharges. Federal officials said that Ottawa had not yet decided whether to compensate fishermen affected by the closures. At the same time, members of the provincial fisherman's union expressed concern that people would assume all B.C. fish are contaminated.

The new fishing ban came as the B.C. pulp



Vancouver seafood vendor blaming the pulp-and-paper mills

industry prepared to meet tougher environmental standards that are expected to come into effect early in 1990. In May, Premier William Vander Zalm's Social Credit government announced tough pollution-control standards for the province's 34 pulp-and-paper mills. Scraps of these mills use chlorine to bleach pulp. The average mill produces 1,000 tons of pulp daily and each day discharges 11,800 lb of toxic chlorine compounds into B.C. rivers, streams and sounds. The govern-

ment's new regulations, which have yet to be enacted into law, call for maximums of 5.5 lb of toxic chlorine compounds—known as organochlorines—per ton by the end of 1991, 3.2 lb per ton by the end of 1994, and secondary treatment of effluent by the end of 1991.

All of the province's pulp mills are preparing to meet the new requirements. The Howe Sound Pulp and Paper Mill at Port Mellon, a joint venture in southern British Columbia between Vancouver's Canfor Corp. and Japan's Oji Paper Co., currently is undergoing a \$4-million modernization and expansion program. The refurbished mill will primarily use oxygen and chlorine dioxide rather than chlorine to bleach pulp, reducing organochlorine production to below the provincial standards. At the same time, the industry has begun substituting chlorine dioxide for chlorine in the bleaching process. Said Brian McCloy, environmental manager for the B.C. Council of Forest Industries, "Howe Sound Pulp and Paper and Wood Fibre Mills [near Squamish] are now reporting reductions in dioxin emissions of over 90 per cent."

Still, the latest shellfishing closures, which affected waters adjacent to all B.C. pulp mills with the exception of the waters around Port Alsea and Port Alsea on Vancouver Island's west coast (the mills do not use chlorine), also raised questions that the coastal waters might remain closed for some time—even if pulp mill pollution of coastal waters is curtailed. Federal officials said that B.C. shellfishing grounds could remain closed for years because scientists have yet to determine how long dioxins and other chlorine-based compounds survive in water. Still, Michael Naushad, head of the federal government's water-quality and habitat management office in Vancouver, said that "we want to get to that end point of having some predictable, very low levels as soon as possible as well as effluent. I have no doubt that these fisheries will one day be reopened."

For B.C.'s several hundred full-time shellfish fishermen and their \$1.1-billion-a-year industry, it could prove a long and costly wait. Still, as the trade-off between the environment and the economy, environmentalists say that the province's pulp-and-paper industry has long had the upper hand. The industry employs about 20,000 people, and last year its output was worth \$4 billion, or 8% per cent of British

Columbia's gross provincial product. Said Norbert, "We would continue closing any mill if we thought we would see a very rapid recovery in the area. But some of these mills have been shutting for a long time. Shutting down any mill is an easy way to make an environmental recovery. That environmental recovery is underway in the ocean conditions of B.C.'s polluted coastal waters."

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JUSTICE

Charges of a coverup

Disturbing testimony about Mount Cashel

Since it began in September, a royal commission sitting in St. John's has heard dramatic testimony from former residents of Newfoundland's Mount Cashel or-

phanage. The young men told different stories, but all made a common allegation—that they were the victims of physical and sexual abuse by members of the Christian Brothers, a Ro-

man Catholic lay order that ran the institution. Then, last week, the inquiry was presented with testimony of a different kind. Robert Hillier, a former detective with the provincial police force, the Royal Newfoundland Constabulary, said that in 1975 New-Prince Chief John Lawlor and his assistant, John Norman, presented him with passing an investigation into complaints by boys at the orphanage. They also stopped him from arresting two Christian Brothers who, according to earlier testimony, had been suspected of sexually molesting boys, Hillier said. When inquiry lawyer Clayton Powell asked Hillier if there had been grounds for arresting the two brothers, Hillier responded, "Oh, there's no doubt."

Hillier's testimony came as Newfoundland government officials and members of the Christian Brothers cast to discuss the future of the orphanage. Government officials said that a decision was likely this week on whether the lay order would continue to run Mount Cashel. Hillier's testimony retained the inquiry to its original focus. The Newfoundland government established the inquiry, under former Ontario Supreme Court justice Samuel Hughes, to determine how the provincial justice system dealt with complaints from 26 boys about sexual and physical abuse at Mount Cashel during the mid-1970s.

Former residents, including 23-year-old Shane Searle, whose allegations helped to spark the inquiry, have charged that justice officials covered up their complaints after church officials moved some suspected abusers out of the province to other boys' schools. In October Newfoundland police Insp. Ralph Plucher, who worked with Hillier on the 1975 investigation, also told the hearing that Lawlor stopped investigation of the complaints. Lawlor, who has since retired, is expected to appear later in the inquiry.

Hillier, 46, started his initial investigation after Karle's mother complained to him that her son had been beaten by one of the Christian Brothers. Karle testified earlier that he left Mount Cashel in December, 1975, after Brother Joseph Babin allegedly beat his bare buttocks with a belt for leaving a library card. Karle was one of 26 boys that Hillier interviewed in his investigation. The former detective said that he had planned to question two of the Christian Brothers, Edward English and Allan Rigby, but before he could, he was told Lawlor and Norman told him to halt his investigation. Asked Powell, "What would you have done, ordinarily?" Staff Hillier, "I would have done the interviews but I would have arrested them. Without hesitation." Earlier testimony has shown that, after the inquiry was stopped, the two Brothers left the province.

Hillier said that other members of the Constabulary were aware of the coverup. "I would use no reason why everybody didn't know about it," he said. "Everyone had to know if they were on duty." Hillier added that, afterward, officials continued to suppress evidence of abuse at Mount Cashel. He said that in March, 1978, three months after he had written a report about his findings, Lawlor told him that the province's then-justice minister, T-



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JUSTICE

Alex Macdonald, had requested a second report. Hillier said that Lavelle told him his second report should leave out all references to complaints of sexual abuse. Declared Hillier: "He told me there would be no further investigation and that the church was going to take over the matter. I told him, 'Come, we can't do that, we can't let these people go.' The chief just walked away from me." Jackson, now chief justice of the trial division of the Newfoundland Supreme Court, is currently preparing a report on an inquiry he conducted in New Scots nine all-legal bodies as that province's justice system.

Hillier told the Newfoundland Inquirer that he complied with Lavelle's order and altered the report because he feared losing his job. Still, he said that his second report did contain some references to homosexual acts and child abuse. Hillier also testified that in 1979 he told then-provincial justice Minister Gerald O'Brien, now a senator, about the case. Despite that, he added, no action was taken against officials at Mount Carmel.

In a discussion of the Newfoundland justice system, Hillier said that the province badly needs an independent justice commission so that police officers would have a channel for pursuing politically sensitive investigations. Currently, said Hillier, investigators cannot charge public figures with crimes without authorization from their superiors. "The chief of police is not running the police force today," said Hillier. "The government is." He also testified that he had told Nemes in 1975 (but he was considering leaving the police force because of being ordered to alter his report, Nemes, according to Hillier, replied: "I agree with you, but I have no choice.")

Much of Hillier's testimony was echoed by Arthur Pike, another former member of the Royal Newfoundland Constabulary, who told the inquiry that police officers and members of the Newfoundland department of justice concealed evidence that some Christian Brothers were sexually and physically abusing boys.

As the inquiry continued, provincial government officials met with Brother Frank Riedrich, Canadian director of the Christian Brothers, to discuss the future of the 96-year-old Mount Carmel orphanage. Earlier last week, provincial police officers charged assistant chaplain Brother, 28-year-old Gerard Joseph Cox, with one count each of sexual assault, violation to sexual coaching and sexual interference. Unlike the eight Christian Brothers from Mount Carmel who were charged earlier with molesting boys during the 1970s, Cox was charged with offences that allegedly took place between Oct. 28, 1984, and Feb. 27, 1989. The charges brought to 20 the number of priests, former priests or lay members of the Roman Catholic community charged with or connected since September, 1988, of sexual offences involving boys. And they provided Newfoundlanders with further proof that the problems within the province's Catholic church may not be easily solved.

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SPORTS WATCH



A jewel waiting to be discovered

BY TRENT FRAYNE

There was a time when college football was an excuse to drink outdoors without being arrested. Guys in coattails coats and bowties carried bottles on their hips and hoisted 'em to their arms. When the game ended, they trotted out of the stadium and the conversation often ran like this:

Q: "Who won the game?"

A: "What game?"

But college ball jumped into a new era of fan acceptance as its own right when precisely everybody among a gridiron at 33 877 in Toronto's SkyDome stadium erupted cold under on Oct. 10 impregnated by nothing stronger than football stuff.

This was from the Varsity Cup game where the Liquor Licence Board of Ontario, the watchdog of all other people's society, kept the stadium's beer taps sealed to the main, and taps at the entrances filled (not bottled) suspected of importing a spirit stronger than school. Even so, the board-on absorbed stimulation offered watching a herd of overgrown youths from the University of Western Ontario in London, Ont., lay waste to the University of Saskatchewan Huskies in the Oshawa men's championship game.

All in all, it was another corner weekend for the grassroots football fixation at the wheat province. A mere 24 hours after the scholarship boys' rivalry had been studied by the Western Mustangs' four professional Roughriders' vaunted win last Sunday's Grey Cup game against Hamilton by straining the over-whelmingly favored Edmonton Eskimos at the Western final.

Once long ago, when the Golden Gophers at the University of Minnesota were the scourge of the U.S. Big Ten college circuit, their scouts scoured the locale byways the prospects. Legend says that when the game came upon a heavy youth hawking a field, they'd call to him: "Which way to Minnesota, son?" If the boy set down the harrow and pointed, the scouts drove on. If he

pointed the harrow, they signed him up. Nowadays, that's how scouting appears to be done west of the border. When Mustang quarterback Chris Goffey set himself back at his centre, Mike Dunsmuir, he was squaring behind a sprawling lot of scotch-free and 270 ft. Flanking him were guards Steve Krupny (see lines 260) and Pat Mahoney (see lines 280) and tackle Norval Radford (see lines 260) and Scott Douglas (see lines 250).

It's not just that college football players are big, it's that they're also very, very good. They move with precision and their offences are more varied than those of the pros where the pass is everything. In Western's varied offence, the Mustangs ran 62 plays, 44 by hand and 18 passes. And sweeps were not the least uncommon and traps up the middle are an old Mustang staple. It was everything and nothing.

Collegians like the pros are getting more and better coaching than the legends of even a decade ago. Once, student athletes played a ball between classes—provided a professor could get away for an hour to coach them. It's that's history, though most coaches still work the classroom. On national television the other night, Mustang head coach Larry

Hayler chatted with shaking Pat Mahoney of The Sports Network (TSN), who noted that Canadian college coaches don't have nearly as much help as U.S. coaches do. "By the way," asked Mahoney, "how many assistants do you have?"

"Six," replied Hayler.

"Six?"

"Yes, it's that way at most of the universities now."

What's happened is that former players who've gone into business or teaching in towns housing the 12 universities where Canadian intercollegiate Athletic Union football is played go moonlighting as assistant coaches, showing up at practice after practice every evening all through the autumn because they like the game.

Locally, college ball is burgeoning at a time when the pros are grinding in such towns as Ottawa, Calgary and even Grey Cup-goldy Hamilton. Ottawa dipped to 170,742 for its last home games last past season from last year's depressing enough 195,604. Calgary, which almost never fell-up in 1988's total of 197,274, improved to only 185,903 this year and Hamilton climbed to only 165,094 under new ownership and a vigorous local promotion campaign from last year's 133,842. That's less than a 3,000-a-game improvement and was 1989's sleeper hit. The B.C. Lions, Winnipeg and even Saskatchewan showed deficits. Toronto's attendance increased by more than 100,000, but a lot of that was attributed to spectators in the new SkyDome.

Not everything was hearts and flowers on the football front either. There was a report last week at The Globe and Mail that Toronto's York University, whence the series has clustered during its inter-collegiate progress.

But down road in Spilley, N.S., the new athletic director at the University College of Cape Breton, the stadium J.I. Albritton is busy recruiting players and assistant coaches for the incoming class of 1991 of Cape Breton team in the Atlantic Conference. J.I. is a passionate football man who has spent 28 years in the game as a coach, manager or talent scout for the universities of Tennessee, Southern California, Maryland, Wyoming and South Carolina, the 1974's Oakland Raiders, San Francisco 49ers, Denver Broncos and New England Patriots, and the CFL's (now-defunct) Montreal Alouettes and the Toronto Argonauts. Apart from that, J.I., who once, in response to a question as to what the J.I. stood for, told you again "J.I. stands for J.I." hasn't done a ball of it in football.

Meanwhile, not everything is bleak at Toronto's York U where former Edmonton Eskimos quarterback Frank Camstina, a former York coach, a former York director of athletics and a current professor in York's department of education, says national exposure on TV, plus the Varsity Cup's move into the glitzy SkyDome, has given the young thinkers a bright new appeal. "It's a great window to be discovered," at last Frank sees the college game for the 1990s.

21st-century Fox

Hollywood's time-travelling hero returns

Michael J. Fox was making late The news conference was already laid over by the time he slipped into the crowded room, like a schlocky time-traveling hero slapping his slaps long after the fact. "Hi guys," he said, a sort of beaming smile from the back of the Future Part II. Like his character, time-traveler Marty McFly, Fox seems to be a constant race to catch up to himself. He has spent the past 16 months in the set of two sequels brought back to life—a procedure unprecedented in Hollywood history. Back to the Future Part II opened last week in theaters across North America. Back to the Future Part III, set next summer, will keep Fox busy until the new year. During the endless shooting schedule, the 45-year-old Canadian actor found time to wind up the seventh and final season of NBC's hit sitcom Family Ties—and to start his own family as a new father. At the Nov. 19 news conference in Los Angeles, director Robert Zemeckis said that the second sequel would be the last. Turning to Zemeckis, Fox quipped: "I thought we'd go back to 1985 and do a flick in the Future/Family Ties Christmas special."

Almost guaranteed to be the open-first hit of this year's Christmas season, Back to the Future Part II uses time travel to re-enact the whole war-capt of a Hollywood sequel. With characters who slip backward and forward through the decades at a space-warping pace, the story overlaps the first movie and ends with a trailer for the one to follow. *Future II* is the more hectic, violent and complex than its predecessor. Turning the theory of relativity into Hollywood formula, it offers an off-the-catchy roller-coaster ride through time. And the plot has more fantastical touches than a Kubrick's *Cube*.

Playing multiple roles, Fox appears in as many places at once that keeping his characters straight, he realized, became "a kind of mental chess—it was a lot of fun." In fact, American TV's favorite son is not as a virtual one-man-band as Fox is. As well as portraying teenage Marty McFly, he plays Marty to a middle-aged father, Marty's son and Marty's daughter. Through the magic of special effects, all of them are seen sharing a pizza together in the year 2015. Those audience with the first movie may find much of the plot incomprehensible.

slide. And others may find it implausible. But for fans of the original movie, *Future II*'s relentless energy provides the sort of video-game challenge that grabs an idle mind into euphoric obsession.

In the first movie, Marty blasted a trail back



Fox (left), Lays a teaser with relentless energy and wit

to the 1950s, where he arranged his parents' courtship, taught his father to overcome his cowardice and dangled crowds with displays of 1960s virtuosity on guitar and skateboard. Upgrading his faculty by tampering with the past, Marty returned to a new and improved 1985. Then, the movie ended with a scene that ended out for a sequel. Doc Brown, the mad scientist, hailed Marty back into his time machine and set the controls for the future. "It's your kids," said Doc. "Something is got to be done about your kids."

Zemeckis claims that he did not design the first movie with a sequel in mind. "It was just a joke, what we did at the end," he said. But the movie's \$110-million worldwide gross made a sequel inevitable. "And then, the pie was on us," said the director. *Future II* begins with the final scene of the first movie. Then, within minutes, the DeLoreans is flying through a rainy

sky of airborne truck-hour traffic in the year 2015. After landing down in a future version of Hill Valley (in home town, Marty is horrified to discover that Brian is a son who is a wing. Just as the belly. Bell made Marty's father's life miserable in the 1950s, Duff's past affecting now terrorizes Marty's teenage boy in the 21st century. And Marty ends in the ocean on a flying skateboard.

The story goes through a dizzying number of time warps, with time-travelers encountering earlier and later versions of themselves. When Marty gets back to 1985, he finds that his new middle-class neighborhood is unrecognizable. It has turned into a ghetto affected by drive-by shootings. His mother is transformed into a reform-recessed biker, and Bell has become a cruel tycoon ruling Hill Valley from a casino tower. It seems that Marty has landed in a parallel reality, a crazy tangent of the space-time continuum. And the only way that he can set history back to its proper course is to return to the 1950s, where he will cross paths with the Marty who traveled back in time in the previous movie.

It is complicated. But that is all part of the movie's dynamic charm. The most entertaining scenes occur in the future, with a spray of sight gags and special effects. Most are clever exaggerations of contemporary pop culture. Skateboards become hoverboards, bellows become helicopters. A three-dimensional shark lingers from a magazine advertisement. *Future II* is a reference to Steven Spielberg, director of *Jaws* and executive producer of the *Back to the Future* trilogy.

Many of the novelties in the movie's fantastic realm bear the stamp of corporate sponsorship. Space-age sailing ships automatically wrap themselves around Marty's car. Lighting up like labels, A Black & Decker appliance, resembling a microwave oven, infuses a delighted past. *Future II* is a triumph of fantasy as product. It shows that director Zemeckis has become a Walt Disney for the computer generation. With *Back to the Future: The Movie*, last year's top-grossing movie, Zemeckis stretched the technical frontiers of the screen by blending animation and live action. With *Future II*, he again proves that he is at the cutting edge of Hollywood technology. Even the story, which he developed with Los Angeles screenwriter Rob Cole, has been connected like an electronic special effect.

The comedy that results is not hilariously funny, but it is consistently witty. Unfortunately, the movie's onslaught of devices—narrative and technical—leaves little room for emotion. Fox performs with ease and aplomb in all of his roles, whether he is wearing a dress or hiding

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Ballet upstarts

A bold West Coast troupe creates national waves

In a picturesque rehearsal studio in Montreal's Place des Arts last month, the 18 dancers of Vancouver-based Ballet Brewhouse Columbus were tripping over their men's feet. Unable to afford a travelling partner, the company had to use taped music, and it was so much later than the troupe to which they were recruited that the dancers could not keep up. Dressed in a boldly oversized and pink leg warmers, Ballet B.C.'s new artistic director, Patricia Neary, barked at us, instructing us to stop the tape and begin clapping out the beat herself. But there was no clapping later that day at Place des Arts when the troupe presented a seamless version of the lyrical, elegant *Etienne de la Strasse* (and by Cochinoville-born choreographer Jim Kylian. Later, the company shifted an act from the taping back and forth from the back of Kylian's piece to the lyrical singularity of *Lesonnage—GM Heroes—Side One*, American choreographer William Forsythe's stormy evocation of the battle of the sexes.

That resilience and versatility have made Ballet B.C., only three years, one of the most exciting dance companies in Canada. Now in the midst of its third seasonal tour, which stopped in Toronto last week before going on to seven other cities in Ontario and further west, the troupe is offering a new era of excellence under Montreal-born Neary, 47, who took over as artistic director in July. Once a dancer with the Guinness New York City Ballet, and former head of the ballets in Geneva, in Zurich and in La Scala in Milan, she is known for her exacting standards and her gift for teaching. Neary says that she is determined to keep Ballet B.C. moving forward. "I didn't come to Vancouver to run a provincial or even national company," declared Neary. "I want Ballet B.C. to be a company the world wants to see dance."

Three closest to Ballet B.C. admit that they do not expect the troupe to make its mark as quickly. In mid-1985, Ballet B.C. was still little more than a dream in the minds of a group group of Vancouver dance lovers determined to give the city a permanent classical dance troupe that could be proud of. The most recent attempt, Pacific Ballet Theatre, had grown to a full-scale troupe the same year after the Grande Comedie had been founded

of what it said were poor artistic standards. David Y. H. Lee, an insurance salesperson and many of the world's best dance troupes in Vancouver in the 1970s, became a key member of the planning group that chartered a fresh course for Ballet B.C. And Lee, "We knew we had to start from scratch and that we had to start over again because we cannot become," "To that



Ballet B.C.'s Graham Miles, Deborah Washington versatile

and, Lee looked the city's largest theatre, the 2,800-seat Queen Elizabeth, for the company's debut season before Ballet B.C. had even a director or dancers. The first artistic director was Deborah Washington in 1981, who had recently arrived from a distinguished dance career with Montreal's Les Grands Ballets Canadiens. In only three months, she drilled the dancers into a cohesive troupe. By the time Ballet B.C. mounted its first season at the Queen Elizabeth in April, 1986, it was already making its confidence and success.

Casting in her extensive network within

the dance world, or Paul who was able to present some work by British dance choreographer Sir Frederick Ashton and by her husband, Canada's celebrated Brian Macdonald. She also helped secure Ballet B.C.'s future by recommending the appointment of New Westminster, B.C.-born Brad Anderson to teach and choreograph. After 17 years with West Germany's celebrated Stuttgart Ballet, most recently in ballet master and principal dancer, he was the ideal choice to succeed as Paul when he decided to head back to her home in Stuttgart, West, in the summer of 1987.

Like his grade cousin, Anderson wanted Ballet B.C. to be a classical company with a contemporary look. Alongside the works by Kylian and Forsythe, Anderson commissioned original ballets from emerging Canadian choreographers including David Allen, John Alloyne and Serge Fossati. And Lee, "As a dancer, I struck the deal. I had a vision of a distinctive performance style." It was a style that had him in to do with technical issues that with an able team to carry it out.

Meanwhile, the company's financial footing had to be secure, and that was the job of general manager Robert McGuffee, a former accountant who had most recently managed the Vancouver Symphony Orchestra. By taking on the presentation of Vancouver's major dance subscription series and including Ballet B.C. as part of it, McGuffee was able to attract a large local audience. From the first when, as McGuffee put it, "we were a bankrupt troupe from financial disaster," last year Ballet B.C. had a total operating budget of about \$3 million, and, in an era of hard re-financing, government grants, it has received healthy infusions of cash from Ottawa, the province and the City of Vancouver.

Now, as Neary begins to make her mark on the company, there is a new atmosphere of excitement at Ballet B.C. Choosing outposts and opportunities, Neary has already caused a stir in Vancouver by making public her demand for better salaries. Neary was started out in a ballroom with Toronto's National Ballet of Canada when she was only 15. She had the plan to leave the company's exchange and began to add two or three members in the troupe. And she is clearly enthusiastic about years of Europe and the Far East planned for next season. Although lashed to the mast by the major dance capitals, Ballet B.C. is at an exciting stage in its place on the dance map of the world.

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THEATRE

Moral magic tricks

A new play mixes gimmickery and high purpose

THE HALF OF IT

By John Krizan
Directed by Richard Rose

Casual playwright John Krizan clearly likes to surprise his audiences. In his 1981 hit play, *Tomato*—still playing in Los Angeles and New York City—he abandoned conventional staging and had viewers follow the actors through a house. In his new comedy, *The Half of It*, which premiered last week at Toronto, Krizan and designer Genevieve Tassone have decorated up a set that contains more surprises than a magician's hat. At the front of the stage is a deep pool of water, into which the actors throw various objects, and at least one actor falls in and disappears. Even more surprisingly, several characters are not altogether



Moore, Pasquet: the forces that feed greed

rated to emerge from the pool, along with a severed head and a baby in a basket, forcing *Missoula*. There is much anachronism in all that gimmickery, and a sense of high-purpose too. Krizan, it seems, has set out to expose the unconscious forces that fuel the greed and belatedness of the modern world.

At times, the play is too clever, like a precocious child who will not stop pranking everyone with his magic tricks. At other moments, it shares with a low-intelligence moral fable. But those are only the raw materials. For the most part, *The Half of It* is lively, accurate and very funny. Its pivotal character is Jill Miller (Diane Pasquet), an idealistic teacher in a private girls' school. When her father, who appears onstage as a silver mask in an oxygen tank, dies of a heart attack, the family estate goes to Jill, her socialist mother, Clara (Sheila Moore) and her son, estate agent son-in-law, Billy (Dane Cook).

The estate contains a flower that Jill has loved from childhood. But her grasping family want to sell it—to buyers who will probably turn it into a subliminal. Their greed motivates each witty backing. Jill exercises her sister for being so lovely to the past. "Billy's a lot of money," she says, "isn't it?"

Matters are complicated by the appearance of a rapacious stockbroker, Don (Gordon Pinsent). A former boyfriend of Clara's, he offers to save the estate and turn a profit for everyone by mortgaging it and avoiding the mess of its secret but messy. He has an ulterior motive: he believes that Jill is his natural daughter and he would like to forge new links with her and her mother. But Jill is wary, thinking that the first Donse wants to convert to makes revolutionary changes.

Such moral dilemmas are rife in *The Half of It*, which tends to weight its ideological suppositions on the side of left environmentalism. But because Jill especially as Gaudin's comely, enthusiastic confidante, tends to view her role as villain on her terms, she is a far less attractive character than some of the others. Director Richard Rose has elected superb performers from Pasquet and Moore. Pasquet, about the stage with the all the precise precision of a human ruler. An earlier actress has left Donse with a last try, given a mechanical hand. But the thing is always malfunctioning, and Pasquet brings some wonderful humor from Donse's furious inability to turn it off. Moore, too, is a delight. Rarely has the spoiled, upper-middle-class actress been so well exposed, with her pointed elbows and heart of cast iron. As Jill says at Clara, "She has this kind of fascist enthusiasm. It's like watching Charlie Manson play Galt."

Throughout the play, dragging ministers and other leaders continue to crawl from the pool, exonerations of the characters' pastimes. With so much going on, *The Half of It* is one of the most complex plays I've seen recently. Like a three-ring circus, it always offers something new to watch.

JOHN KRIZAN

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Leader of the pack

How the Tories manipulated the electorate

PLAYING FOR KEEPS: THE MAKING OF THE PRIME MINISTER, 1985
By Graham Fraser
149 pp. \$25.95

In the opening chapter of his book on the 1985 federal election campaign, Graham Fraser takes a few cautious steps at his colleagues in the Parliamentary Press Gallery. Fraser, Ottawa bureau chief of *The Globe and Mail*, argues that most political journalists spent too much time and energy documenting the "made" stories of politicians—no particular, the collective efforts of election planners, strategists or gossips, pollsters and advertisers to influence and manipulate public opinion. In the process, he says, political journalism "has traded us larger the 'outside story' of what politicians are saying to voters." Fraser sets out to correct that imbalance in *Playing for Keeps: The Making of the Prime Minister, 1985*. The result is an exhaust-



Mulroney (right) campaigning: vulgar and profane

ive, sometimes embarrassing survey of the 1984 campaign—a useful reference book for serious students of Canadian politics, but one that most casual readers will find heavy going.

Fraser's account of the election is solid, reliable and unclouded by a bias. But there is also something faintly sentimental about his approach. In keeping with his views about the proper role of political journalism, he offers lengthy verbatim transcripts of speeches and press statements by each of the three major federal party leaders. Yet Fraser himself ob-

serves that, in the television age, the usual image of a leader's words could be seen among the electorate just the words, in any case, TV news programs rarely show more than a few seconds of a leader's speech. And despite his professed dislike of made stories about strategists and backbits, he acknowledges in the end that the Conservatives won the election largely because of their mastery of political management techniques. Under Brian Mulroney, Fraser writes, the Tories have learned "not simply to sound out public opinion but to shape it, manipulate it, and change it."

One of the highlights of *Playing for Keeps* is its dig-

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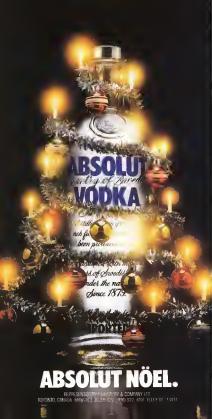
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BOOKS

Prophets by numbers

*Claire Hoy takes on the
rise of political pollsters*

HANGON OF ERROR: POLLSTERS
AND THE MANIPULATION OF
CANADIAN POLITICS
By Claire Hoy
(Key Porter Books, 234 pages, \$24.95)

There was a time, not so long ago, when a voter's influence extended beyond the ballot box. Voters counted. In some cases, they met eye-to-eye with politicians, who dutifully returned to Ottawa with their complaints at their ankles. It was old-fashioned, even quaint, but sometimes the method of communication worked. These days, politicians pay heed to a new oracle: a computer protocol, compiled and analyzed by a political pollster from the ashes of a scientific sample placed at random from statistical data. And pollsters claim that their latest, more sophisticated machine that offers exactly the same results as direct contact with the electorate. As Claire Hoy writes in *Margins of Error*, pollsters hold a common credo: "With proper stirring, a cook can taste one spoonful and tell how the entire pot of soup is doing." Some soup.

What critics say about the validity of polls might also apply to Hoy's own attempt to decipher both the soup and its cooks. Her ingredients are there, but the mix is of questionable nutritional value. Instead, Hoy, a veteran political writer who is now a columnist for *Sunday News in Canada*, seems to revel in her reputation as a scribbler with a caustic, even cranky, pen. The sole quote on the book's dust jacket, from the *Canadian publishing magazine Quill & Quire*, states: "In the realm of Canadian journalism, Claire Hoy is a pit bull." (In her book, *Friends on High Places*, an scathing portrayal of Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and his wife, Milla, earned her few friends at 24 Sussex Drive. But the author was not looking for friends.)

Not is Hoy on the prowl for any lone Allan Gurgis, one of the country's most adroit political columnists, who has written his tell-all book—which may have prompted Hoy to write as *Margins of Error* that "for all his blustering about methodological and philosophical pieties, Gurgis, like all other pollsters, has an amazing ability to come up frequently with results that speak perfectly well to the pre-survey desires of his corporate client." There are inklings, however, that the renegade Hoy is embracing this reputation as Ottawa is that of a sponsor of

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BOOKS

skins, some of them tall. But the chapters that deal with the exact scenes of polling and its colorful history suggest that he has at least consumed material as the National Archives.

There is a clear need for a critical look at the use and starting phase of political polling in Canada, as well as at the powerful culture of propaganda-operations that rules it. Anyone who has seen the federal election in November, 1988, could attest to that. During a seven-week period, Canadians were subjected to a dizzying succession of polls—four a week, or 26 of them at the national level and at least 250 at the local and regional levels. Polls spotted the lies and delusions of voters in an endless flood of percentages. They destroyed the Liberals, then brought them back to life. They chastised the Tories, then returned them to power. They spit out free trade and, at one point, had the stock market scrambling. According to Hec, they even won Edward Mulroney that he creates a negative reaction when he removes his explosives while speaking.

The central theme of *Myths of Power* that methodology has replaced ideology "in the new god of politics." Hec offers examples of polling stunts that add a chill to that proposition. He quotes an unrepentant Newfoundland Liberal who said that provincial party strategists deliberately fabricated a poll that showed leader Clyde Wells ahead during the election campaign of April, 1989. Said the leader: "Hell, as it turned out, we were a lot closer than the so-called legitimate polls suppose. At least we polled the right way!" And in a startling aside, Hec writes that Conservative strategist John Tey told him that a pollster tipped his party a day in advance to a controversial Gallup poll during the 1988 federal election that put the Liberals ahead of the Tories and led to a 10-per-cent drop in the Canadian dollar.

Polling has won a long war in Canada since Mackenzie King's Liberal government ignited into the market in 1942 by having Gallup secretly gauge the resentment of Quebecers to wartime conscription. It became an art in the 1960s, despite John DeWilde's scathing accusation that polls were far dregs by the 1980s. It was a costly experience during a decade, writes Hec, "in which polling has become not just a political tool, an early-warning police-spy system, but an occasional substitute for policy itself." And governments—as well as the media—have started the idea of limiting the role of pollsters.

Banner New Brunswick premier Robert LaFollette, no fan of polls himself, told Hec that for all its sophistication, polling remains "the collective accounting of uninformed people at 8:30 on a Wednesday night." On the other hand, Hec quotes one polling advocate in saying, "Why shouldn't the public know what it thinks? The government certainly does." The dilemma about percentage politics remains. However, steering up the numbers-rop, as Hec does, presents no polling recipe. In the end, *Myths of Power* leaves the reader hungry for more substance.

BY NAYL FULFORD

BOOKS

Leaders in Lotusland

Four books examine the B.C. political scene

For the past century, the rest of Canada has viewed the procession of unusual premiers from British Columbia with everything from amusement to outrage, from ridicule to respect. Three recent books—two of which concentrate on the latest character to hold the office, William Vander Zalm—review these varied views. The books also provide a look at the politics in the province have also produced some larger than life figures, and one of them, Jack Manly, also gets book treatment this season. All four titles offer provocative looks at Lotus Land and its lively and often bizarre political scene.

In *Remembering Inside the Minds of B.C. Premier Zalm* (McGraw-Hill, Ryerson, 323 pages, \$26.95), Gary Mason and Keith Baidoo, legislative reporters for *The Vancouver Star*, follow the unpredictable, often naive and always quotable Vander Zalm's turbulent, scandal-plagued premiership from his accession to the Social Credit throne in 1984. *Frangeline* (Laurier, 1984) provides an inside look at the charismatic leader from the premier's own testimony and the types of ideas within his inner circle. Mason and Baidoo interviewed more than 180 people in the course of their research and spent more than 16 hours each with Vander Zalm as his former principal secretary. David Poole Details of how the man once plotted strategy to discredit the premier's "enemies, especially human resources development minister—and now backbencher—Greece McCarthy, make fascinating reading.

Two chapters in particular highlight the premier's off-the-wall politics. They describe the premier's ignorance of, or disregard for, national conflicts of interest; in the side of the former Expo '86 lands in downtown Vancouver. They argue that Vander Zalm's lack of discretion in repeatedly changing a private bid for the property by his friend Peter Topp, despite an agreed upon international bidding procedure led to an \$80-million investment of both men. In the end, the police laid charges, but the political damage to the

province's and the premier's reputation continues to have repercussions. It resulted, the authors write, in the "first public civil war" within the Social Credit party in its 30-year history, including the premature ousting of Poole in August 1988. The conflict's latest manifestation was the October resignation of first Social Credit leader, the late premier, after the vote of the premier's 80th birthday by-election defeat.

The authors explore all of the events that made Vander Zalm the down prince of premiers within the country, from his rebel leader in the legislature early in 1988 saying that

there was a letter (Hag Van often only be due if the baby's hoop is cut up," to a speech to a right-wing Christian organization in which he compared his struggle against opposition polls to the plight of John Christ. "On personality, let's agree," and his last, far-reaching method of governing have created an almost constant state of conflict for his government," they write. "An insistence on repeating his religious admonitions and moral laws on fellow British Columbians has triggered a lasting resentment."

Steve Presley, a left-leaning political analyst who has produced two books about former B.C. Social Premier William (Duke) Bennett, also takes his gaze on Vander Zalm in *Frangeline* (Laurier, 1984). He details account of the events, events, politics and scandals of the premier's tenure. *Frangeline* (Laurier, 1984) is 270 pages, \$14.95 cloth, \$14.95 paper. He details account of the events, events, politics and scandals of the premier's tenure.

Presley seeks to connect the personality of the premier to a movement. He maintains that the radical right-wing network quarters of "The Zalm" are the norm within Social Credit, rather than the exception. Referring to the sweeping privatization program

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introduced in October, 1987, he writes that it was "simply an extension of, rather than a break with the policy of [Bennett's] to 'reinvest our government services'." Adds Priddy: "Certainly, elements of the man—his style, and perhaps the fervor of his moral views—were unique to his person, but Social Credit could not be abolished if Vander Zalm's actions by changing that he is an aberration from party tradition."

Some of Vander Zalm's outrageous pronouncements, and the portrait of the premier as the national paragon as a flawed misanthrope, but a much deeper threat, warns Priddy: "His actions [have] serious consequences for our people [at] his performance means questions [of] how a successful party in a democratic tradition is affected when it's held by a religious fundamentalist."

With a general election likely in British Columbia in 1990, Vander Zalm and the Socialists have just launched a decidedly non-Social Credit policy program, says Priddy, becoming passionate advocates of the environment, women's native rights, higher education and low-cost housing for seniors and seniors. "[That] was either one of the more spectacular conversions since that of St. Paul on the road to Damascus," he writes "or else a display of extraordinary bold thinking or, more likely, a calculated stalling of the polls by the premier's advisers." Priddy notes that, on election day, "some of these politicians trying to cash in on the conversion [and] in for a big surprise."

Vander Zalm is far from being alone in history's record of eccentric B.C. political leaders. In *From A to Z* (Douglas Books Publishers, 376 pages, \$24.95 cloth, \$13.95 paper), writer Victoria Murray notes that Murray, now a historian, describes some of the "wacky" oddballs who have sat in the premier's chair. Murray's chronicle of the careers and thinking of a dozen of the province's 27 premiers since 1871 makes for light-hearted but entertaining reading. He establishes that British Columbia has had more than 100 years of the province's premier. The first, James Garfield (1871 to 1874), who changed his name to James Garfield to reflect his "love of the universe", the three-month wonder of 1900, Joseph (Fighting Joe) Martin, the general who won the Battle of Vimy (1918 to 1925) and the more recent tragedy of W.A.C. and William Bennett and Vander Zalm himself. They have been opportunistic, bumbling, naive, miserably colorful, awkward, charming, self-righteous, bullying, self-serving, manipulated, manipulative or vindictive, perhaps—but never dull.

Well before the elder Bennett, W.A.C. introduced Social Credit to the new province, anathema to what he termed the "vandalist bandits" of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation and its successor, the New Democratic Party. British Columbia's ambitious premier fashioned itself a cult of the right to suit their purpose. Murray's superficial sketches of their eccentricities and their lack of political understanding and policies beg for a more detailed and serious look.



Murray's men of few words—many of these explosives

Another British Columbia character who is an colorful, controversial and outrageous as any of the politicians with whom he has lived, James Garfield (1871 to 1874), who changed his name to James Garfield to reflect his "love of the universe", the three-month wonder of 1900, Joseph (Fighting Joe) Martin, the general who won the Battle of Vimy (1918 to 1925) and the more recent tragedy of W.A.C. and William Bennett and Vander Zalm himself. They have been opportunistic, bumbling, naive, miserably colorful, awkward, charming, self-righteous, bullying, self-serving, manipulated, manipulative or vindictive, perhaps—but never dull.

Murray's personal problems with heavy drinking—he became an abstemious in 1984—a strong and unhappy first marriage and the death of his 13-year-old son, Scott, in a traffic accident are dealt with briefly but unflinchingly. The heart of the book, however, charts Murray's rise from a childhood in a Depression-ravaged Alberta to his turbulent tenure at the top of one of Canada's largest unions. The barry (no-foot, four-inch, 360-lb) union boss had only a Grade 10 education, but he has an intuitive sense of what is right for his union and his adopted province—even though his views often brought him into conflict with other unions.

Murray's biggest dispute with other labor groups arose over his much-criticized printer meeting with Premier William Bennett on Nov. 13, 1983, in the premier's Kelowna home, to seal a pact to stave off a threatened, premature labor walkout under the Operation Solidarity banner. Although he defends his action, the halfhearted unionist now admits that he erred in his approach. "I should have never agreed to meet at Bennett's home," he writes. "It was far too risky—wily looking. It made me look like a traitor."

Planned and personal, B.C. politics has for decades been fertile ground for men like Vander Zalm, Murray, the Bennetts and Peter DeCrom. They may command fierce loyalty to some and equally fierce hostility in others, but political jokers of all stripes will probably agree on one thing: they make for great reading.

JOHN PIPER

WAGNER'S BEST-SELLER LIST

FICTION

- 1 *Solomon Grundy Was Here*, Riddle (X)
- 2 *The Dark Wolf*, King (X)
- 3 *The Pillars of the Earth*, Hilary (X)
- 4 *Clear and Present Danger*, Clancy (X)
- 5 *Spy Game*, Douglas (X)
- 6 *Tempted*, Fennell (X)
- 7 *Unsettled*, Fennell, Eve (X)
- 8 *Smile*, Hill (X)
- 9 *A History of the World in 1001*, Clouston, McKinnon (X)
- 10 *Corbush*, McKinnon (X)

NONFICTION

- 1 *The House Is Not a Home*, Nelson (X)
- 2 *Beacons*, Shaw (X)
- 3 *Is a Canadian's Guide*, Galloway (X)
- 4 *Divorce Inside Out*, Connors (X)
- 5 *A Woman Named Justice*, Connors (X)
- 6 *The Science of Psychology*, Rogers (X)
- 7 *Chore Talk*, Connors (X)
- 8 *The Canadian Living Book*, Connors (X)
- 9 *Back of a Beer*, Robinson (X)
- 10 *Urban Legends*, Connors (X)

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Compiled by Susan Bellman

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Reiterating some minor complaints

BY ALLAN FOTHERINGHAM

One of the many lamentations of meek that sparkle the desolate life of your humble agent is that *Laurence Prince*, famed inventor of the *Prince* Principle, used to be my high-school woodwork teacher. His maxim—"In an organization, or employer or president to their level of incompetence"—will go down in history along with *Parson's Law* ("What happens soon is the most available for it") and the irrefutable *Murphy's Law* ("If anything can go wrong, it will"). He once told me that he evolved the theory while—after woodwork—he taught at the University of British Columbia and found that "the reason the nightingale is heavily plucked is no reason is because the snakes are so small."

Those of us who are victims of minor holiday lectures as TV messages know how true this is. A Conservative government's stormy current, gusting over a dropping oil price, has nothing on the annual ranting of Larry League parents. Politics is everywhere. My spirit crashed, my desires shuddered, I have been forced to come to the conclusion—no nothing ahead—that internal politics alone means federal bankruptcy in the world of capitalism. This strange discovery has come about because of the publication of a superb work of literature, the more of which will never cross my lips due to inherent modesty.

This tome, now walking out of bookstores across the great land, is a work of lofty Olympic magnitude and much strategy and it also got to provide some happy filth between the delicious bits, deals with critiques of certain newspapers and certain named newspaper names who make Canada what it is today. It's damned. It's remarkable. In this account, how the great tribulations of the people, the journalists themselves, have resulted in this candidate for the Nobel Prize in literature.

This weighty work, for example, deals at length with some uncomfortable truths about the new editor of the *Waterloo Star* is a man of my acquaintance. The book, the title of which I will not mention, was published on Oct. 21, which would have meant the paper's new editor would have received a several weeks



preliminary. As this is written, the *Star* has yet to review it. It only worked at the paper for 25 years, despite the fact that it contains many useful household tips, such as the recipe for turkey dressing and—any specialty—meatloaf sauce. Most strange.

My class friend Dorian (he's never met a Malvern) he didn't Mr. Camp told me at some length about the accurate number of children, as proved by Douglas Fisher. Unfortunately, he didn't know how to spell Brian MacLachlan: got Brian Smith? In the wrong century, didn't know when John Milton wrote *Paradise Lost* and couldn't get right the number of words in my sword-swinging 89-word sentence. Not to mention that your agent Oshane? shame? as he has never met the Stephen Leacock Medal Award, as he thought—in all his kindness.

This is all so perplexing, since the book—old houses will not stop the title from my lips—is so chockablock full of Olympian over-

views, a mindboggling explanation of March Lake and those strange ice masses that say *Harlequin Romance* that would lower it under the board-days.

Most puzzling of all is the treatment allotted by *The Toronto Star*, the most aggressively edited newspaper in the land, not to mention the richest and the largest. The designated printer in this case was one Geoffrey Stevens, a journalist I once respected: he being the chap who was sacked early this year as managing editor of *The Globe and Mail*.

In a career of quite impressive length—longer than most newspaper columns—he reveals more in what he leaves out than in what he leaves in, most of it a deliberate that the work of art is fact will not be saved as Stockholm must peer to peek under the hood. It must be explained that he now writes a column for *The Toronto Star* and teaches a course called "Politics and the Media" at the University of Toronto.

Perhaps the overkill of work I can't sound people who spent themselves but they've got to him. Stevens clearly suffers from either early Alzheimer's or the early Alzheimer's of the "new" disease or he needs too little—maybe just this much: He says, forgetting the jump proper that the only real reference to press hero Ken Thomson is about walking his dog in *Reverie*.

He somehow missed the lengthy descriptions of how cheap the Thomsons are, the historic accounts (almost as good as the target) of my two spells of employment with these cheapies, their failures at increasing respectability with *The Times of London* and how Roy Thomson purchased his seat in the House of Lords by buying—and buying—portraits of the Royal Family done by Sir Stephen Ward, the pimp of Christine Keeler, who brought down their *Minister John Diefenbaker* and the *Harold Macmillan* government.

Most puzzling of all, however, is the lengthy review by Prof. Stevens in that there is not a single mention of the lengthiest critique of any one paper in the book. Some 33 pages, out of 372, are devoted to his new employer and how the *Star* misled and lyes and endorses the news, up to and including how its high-minded member, Richard Goodrich, arranged to keep his device out of not only his own paper but also the *Toronto Star*.

One wonders how Prof. Stevens, in his lectures to his students on journalistic ethics (and within his parents?), explains his embarrassing silence on the most vibrant moment of the whole book. As it turns out, Prof. Stevens has turned into just another *Toronto Star* hack. How strange. How sad.

THERE'S VODKA



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AND THEN THERES SMIRNOFF.

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